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SOVIET UNION
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Shatrov Article on Events of March 1985 (Mikhail Shatrov; OGONEK, No 4, Jan 87).....	1
Supsov Criticizes Socioeconomic Development in Chelyabinsk (PRAVDA, 6 Jun 87).....	5
Moldavian CP Secretary Smirnov on Work With Letters (Viktor Smirnov Interview; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 9 Jun 87). .	10
February Georgian CP CC Buro Meetings (ZARYA VOSTOKA, various dates).....	19
Acceleration, Student Discipline Discussed	19
Control Work, Anti-Alcohol Battle Cited	20
Discipline Violations in Timber Industry	22
Economy, Housing, Unearned Income	24
Kirghiz CP Raykom Investigates Dismissal of Whistleblower (PRAVDA, 19 Jun 87).....	26
Uzbek CP CC Buro Meetings Detailed (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, various dates).....	27
CPSU CC Criticism of Perm Obkom	27
Agricultural, Energy Production Scored	32
Consumer Goods, Services Need Improvement	35

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium on Problem Areas (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 6, 28 Feb 87).....	39
Soviets of Peoples Deputies Poor Preparation for Marking GOSR	41
Uzbek Council of Ministers Scores Poor Economic Work (PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 4 Feb 87).....	43
CULTURE	
OGONEK Editor Berates Provincial Attitude Toward Reforms (Vitaliy Korotich; LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, 20 Mar 87).....	46
Influence of Rehabilitated Poets is Marginal, Claims Critic (LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, 20 Mar 87).....	50
New 'Grayness' in Literature Term 'Ultracritical' (Yuriy Idashkin; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 3 Jun 87).....	55
Chekhov Play Features Okudzhava's Songs, Verses (Z. Papernyy; VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, 14 Mar 87).....	61
Satires of Zoshchenko Become New Musical (VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, 12 Mar 87).....	64
Astafyev's 'Sad Detective' Premieres as New Play (Vitaliy Solomin; VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, 4 Mar 87).....	65
Weekly Reviews Latvian Youth Documentary (Nadezhda Azhgikhina; LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, 6 Mar 87)...	66
Lack of Kazakh Bilingual Dictionary Limits Bilingualism (A. Qayrbekov; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 4 Apr 87).....	72
Kazakh Youth Press Books Sell Well (Adilghazy Qayyrbekov; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 1 Apr 87).....	72
SOCIAL ISSUES	
Writer Attacks Self-Perpetuating Bureaucracy (Ales Adamovich; IZVESTIYA, 7 Jun 87).....	73
ArSSR Internal Affairs Minister Fights Unearned Income (A. Shaginyan; KOMMUNIST, 13 Feb 87).....	79
Kazakh Commentator on Problem of Nationalism (Tabighat Sarsenbayev; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 1 Apr 87).....	84

Kazakh Minister Discusses Dormitory Shortage (Bekbolat Zamanbekovich Interview; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 3 Apr 87).....	84
Alma-Ata Graveyard Vandalism Discussed (Saparbay Parmanqulov; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 24 Apr 87).....	85
'Pornographic' Filmmaker in Turkmenia Sentenced (Moscow Domestic Service, 12 Jun 87).....	86

REGIONAL ISSUES

Moscow TV Film Attacks Baltic Emigres (B. Sheynin; Moscow Television Service, 12 Jun 87).....	87
'Alleged Russification' of Latvians Denied by TASS (Victor Silins; TASS, 13 Jun 87).....	95
Construction Lags Hindering Kazakh Economic Developments (SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 4 Apr 87).....	97
Kazakh Commentator Says Cities of Future To Rise Higher (Qynabay Aralbayev; LENINSHIL ZHAS, 25 Apr 87).....	97
Life in an Arid Region Studied in Manghyshlaq Botanical Garden (M. Qonghanbayeva; SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN, 7 Apr 87).....	97
Kirghiz Writer on Problems in National Relations (A. Tokombayev; PRAVDA, 19 May 87).....	99

/12223

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

SHATROV ARTICLE ON EVENTS OF MARCH 1985

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 4, Jan 87 pp 4, 5

[Article by Mikhail Shatrov: "1917-1987 Irrevocability of Changes"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Mikhail Shatrov, winner of the USSR State Prize, famous dramatist, whose works have shown continuous development of the theme of Lenin, author of the plays "July 6," "Bolsheviks," "Blue Horses on Red Grass," "This Way We Will Win!," and "The Dictates of the Conscience."

From my writer's notebook:

2 December 1986. My neighbor, a student, brought home from her institute a plan for seminars on the topic "The 27th CPSU Congress." The topics were highly contemporary: "The 27th Congress and the Development of Democracy," "The 27th Congress and the Struggle for Peace," familiar and understandable words. But something was wrong. I look more closely. I find that the original mimeographed plan says "26th" and has been corrected very neatly by hand to read "27th." This is the sum total of the restructuring which has occurred in the teaching of social sciences in one of the leading institutes of the country.

28 November 1986, 3:00 p.m. Meeting of the secretariat of the RSFSR Theatrical Union. We are having a real "brainstorming" session. We are deciding the future of the Union, its Constitution. Dozens of proposals are made and immediately rejected. One of those present, an important and experienced staff member of the control organs, smirks: "Go on, have your fun.." In his view, all this collective work on the Constitution is nothing more than government-sanctioned playing at democracy.

End of October. The editor-in-chief of a humanitarian journal has been relieved of his position. The report made on him by the Party Bureau noted that he is a good and responsive man, but not very competent, and suffering from overeagerness to please those above him. The offended deposed editor, complained to the authorities. "The 27th Party Congress, teaches true lessons," explained the Party Bureau secretary. "Are you serious?" they asked him. "Don't you know that all this will be over soon and you will be ashamed of your naivete?"

2 December. Art theatre, actors' cloakroom.

"Are you going to sign the letter defending Yefremov?"

"That's all well and good, but what if they 'devour' him, what will happen to me?"

Where does all this come from -- all this formalism, mistrust, inertia in thinking, and corrupt attitudes?

23 December 1922. Lenin's apartment. Vladimir Ilyich, gravely ill lies in his study. In the room next door the following letter was written to Kamenev:

"Lev Borisovich, Stalin has permitted himself to act toward me in the crudest possible way with respect to the short letter Vladimir Ilich dictated to me with the doctors' permission. I am no newcomer to the party. In the entire 30 years I have been a party member, I have never heard a crude word from any comrade; the interests of the party and of Ilyich are no less dear to me than they are to Stalin. Now I am compelled to exert all my powers of self-control. I understand what can and cannot be discussed with Ilich better than any doctor; that is, I know what upsets him and what doesn't, a lot better than Stalin does, in any case." Nadezhda Konstantinovna begged for protection against "this crude interference in her personal life, undeserved abuse, and threats.." "I am completely confident in the unanimous decision of the Control Commission which Stalin is permitting himself to threaten me with, but I don't have either the strength or the time to waste on this stupid squabble. I too am human and my nerves are stretched to the breaking point. N. Krupskaya." (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, volume 54, pp. 674-675.)

I don't know what others find most jarring in this document, but for me it is the phrase, "I am completely confident in the unanimous decision of the Control Commission." This is the root of all that followed, when a single individual, to use Lenin's words, concentrating unbounded power in his hands, overthrew the democratic principles of party life, like a child's toy unworthy of the attention of serious people.

It has long been known that power corrupts. Absolute power corrupts absolutely.

It could occur only to someone with unbounded power to turn a man into a cog in a bureaucratic state machine and only someone with such power could succeed in doing so. Here is where there was a break with the moral principles of the October revolution and socialism. And the people and the party paid dearly for this break.

Do we want a cog, a broken-spirited follower of orders, afraid to think for himself, living in an atmosphere of terror, or a thinking, energetic individual, the active master of his own domain?

What gigantic potential our October Revolution had, if it was able to endure, to build the country, hold its own in war, and in spite of everything, survive through 1956, the 20th Party Congress.

How could anyone have forgotten, yet all this was 30 years ago. Let us think about this.

I remember the spring of 1956 very well. The 20th Party Congress, the country underwent a gigantic spasm, throwing off anti-Leninist ideological tendencies and the practice of the cult of the individual. But I have also remembered how, gradually, step by step, this process was emasculated, how the forces of the past which we were not able to extirpate fully began to come to life and raise their heads again, how antidemocratic tendencies, which in essence are antisocialist, again began to impede our progress. And we, bitter though it is we must admit it, out of our own inactivity, cowardice, indifference, whatever, again sank into something old and familiar.

And then it was March 1985. We keep talking about April, but I want to talk about March.

March, 1985, a month of struggle, not for power, but for an idea, for the necessity and possibility of democratic renewal of the country, the struggle to return to the ideals of the October revolution.

Was there any alternative?

From the point of view of the fundamental interests of socialism there was none. But we must remember that in real life there was an alternative. The slogan "Let's turn Moscow into a model communist city," frequently concealing lies, corruption, and other consequences of lack of democracy, could have caught on throughout the country. We must not forget about this threat, which was a reality in March of 1985, and which, although perhaps not immediately, could have led to reoccurrence of "boundless power". After all, the problems strangling our country could either have been solved through democratization or could have been forced back into concealment, driven inward with a heavy hand. There was no third course.

I am absolutely sure: the country has undergone a restructuring and has survived.

In that dramatic moment of our history, people were found who showed courage and wisdom. This was a time when the human factor showed itself in all its power. Let us give this courage its due, and try to foster it in ourselves.

I sincerely envy the dramatists of the future, who will have the opportunity to talk about this fateful page in our history. But, in the meantime, we must not forget that April was preceded by March, nor about what preceded March.

Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy wrote in his article "Nikolay Palkin":

"We say: why should we understand? ... why understand the past? After all it no longer exists... Why remember it? Why upset the people?.. How can we ask: why should we understand? If I had a terrible or dangerous disease and I recovered from it, I would always remember this with joy. I wouldn't want to remember only if I had been sick, and am still sick, indeed, have gotten worse, but want to deceive myself."

Beginning in March of 1985 we have awaited each new day with hope and worry that suddenly all this may come to an end. But nothing has come to an end, nothing has turned into the same old story; just the reverse: in a strikingly logical way, we are gathering speed, developing, conquering new beachheads in the democratic renewal of society.

Today history is giving us another chance. And it is our sacred duty not to throw this chance away, to do all that each of us is capable of to make the progress of democratization be truly irrevocable.

Irrevocability means the firm conditions, guarantees and social mechanisms of socialist democracy.

Irrevocability means first and foremost a free spiritually renewed man, who takes nothing on faith, says nothing which goes against his conscience, who is not afraid to admit any problem, and not afraid of any struggle for a serious goal.

Irrevocability means a human consciousness immune to a reoccurrence of spiritual bondage.

It is this which should be the battlefield of art and literature, whose mission is, to use Herzen's words, to increase the numbers of free thinking, active people who love their Fatherland. This is the program which must unite us all.

In the mid-70s my students often asked me: why was 1956 not completely successful? Where were you? What did you write? How did you help the party?

Today, without procrastinating, let us do all we can so that such questions will never again have to be asked by anyone! Never again by anyone!

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

SUPSOV CRITICIZES SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHELYABINSK

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet: On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Chelyabinsk Oblast"]

[Text] The work of the soviets of people's deputies in Chelyabinsk Oblast was examined at a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A decree passed by the Presidium took note of the fact that the soviets of people's deputies in the oblast are in the process of implementing a specific work assignment in compliance with requirements contained in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers entitled "On Measures for Further Developing the Role and Increasing the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in Light of Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress."

The role of the soviets has become more pronounced in efforts to increase the rate of growth and the efficiency of production and to satisfy the expressed needs of the people. The assignments for improving industrial productivity, for increasing the productivity of labor, and for deliveries of agricultural produce have already been carried out. The amount of residential housing made available is above that set by the plan.

Nevertheless, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet considers that what has been achieved fails to reflect the available resources and fails to meet the array of tasks that now confront the oblast. The restructuring of the activities of the soviets of people's deputies is coming about only slowly and without the vigor and dynamism that is necessary. Meanwhile, the soviets are not making full use of the basic decisions by the party and the state for improving their activity under current conditions, and they have not sufficiently availed themselves of the powers at their disposal for assuring the integrated development of their territory.

The measures undertaken by several soviets to comply with the terms of the decree are without specific definition and due consideration of local

conditions. The political significance of resolving a host of acute problems in the social sphere has been underestimated. It is this that largely explains serious omissions in industry, disruptions in fulfilling plans for social and cultural construction, and the absence of any real turn for the better in consumer services.

The attention of the soviets of people's deputies, especially their executive and administrative bodies, is directed to the poor utilization of principles for improving management efficiency and for exploiting territorial reserves to speed up social and economic development.

In the field of industry, commitments for the delivery of products are not being fulfilled. Executive discipline is weak. Up until the present time in the oblast there has been no sign of the development of inter-branch and inter-industry associations or the formation of industrial ties, and practical measures are yet to be found for converting enterprises to a multi-shift work schedule and to the efficient utilization of labor resources.

The powers of the soviets are not being applied to involve enterprises and scientific and planning organizations in resolving critical problems. There have been serious shortcomings in the management of enterprises and organizations directly under their supervision, particularly those connected with satisfying the daily needs of the people. Plans for capital investment in developing local industries and domestic services have not been carried out.

Soviet organs are not making use of available possibilities for the better provision of food products to the local population through maximum use of local resources. The growth rate of agricultural production is low. A considerable number of the enterprises do not have subsidiary farms. Little help is being given to the individual subsidiary farms of citizens, especially in increasing production of livestock farming produce. The number of fruit-growing associations and market-gardening collectives is growing slowly. Measures are not being taken to improve the organization of state and cooperative trade or to increase the sale of foodstuffs at kolkhoz markets. The problem of storing potatoes, fruits and vegetables has not been resolved, resulting in large losses.

The soviets have not exerted the proper pressure on management leaders to provide for output growth and improvement in the quality of consumer goods, and to provide for the development of public catering in industry and for the expansion of their services in populated areas.

The increase in the people's monetary income is significantly in advance of goods for sale. At the same time, production schedules for the current year have been disrupted, and the output of these goods has even diminished. Many enterprises in heavy industry are not developing the necessary groundwork for this purpose, and more than a fourth of them do not produce any consumer goods whatsoever.

A considerable number of enterprises and organizations are not involved in providing paid services. Last year's plan in this respect was fulfilled by no more than 77 percent. Work in exploiting for this purpose various forms of cooperative and individual labor by citizens has not progressed.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet emphasized that the soviets are failing to address the task of meeting demands for the accelerated development of the material and technical resources in support of the social sphere.

The oblast, as one of the most industrially developed in the republic, occupies one of the last places in the provision of public housing. Effective efforts to overcome this situation, however, are not being carried out. Cooperative housing as well as individual residential construction is not increasing, and few housing projects for youth and dwellings in rural areas are being erected.

The tasks for putting into operation hospitals and polyclinics, boarding houses for the elderly, schools and clubs and houses of culture are not being fulfilled. The resources for building trading and public catering facilities are not being made available although they are in critically short supply, especially in the more densely inhabited areas. Proper attention is not being paid to public services.

The decree's instructions regarding development of the capacities of building and installation organizations and enterprises of the building industry, so that construction may be completed within the period prescribed, is being poorly implemented in the oblast. The potential for developing production of local building materials is not being tapped. Even the centrally allocated resources for this purpose are not being made available. At the same time, owing to the shortage of these materials, there is a building shortage and consequent lack of trading facilities commensurate with the needs of the people.

The activities of institutions of public health, public education, culture, and transport require further improvement. There is a need for increased cooperation between the soviets and the enterprises and organizations in their territories to bring about more efficient utilization of primary and secondary resources and environmental protection.

All these shortcomings reflect the fact that the executive committee of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet is not showing a genuine sense of responsibility in carrying out the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures for Further Developing the Role and Increasing the Responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Accelerating Socioeconomic Development in Light of Decisions of the 27th Congress." The committee's efforts are slow in taking effect.

In compliance with the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of January 1987, the soviets of people's deputies are directed to apply their efforts to resolving critical social and economic problems of development, to overcome the delays that have occurred, and to carry out unconditionally the tasks set by the plan. The following steps are essential to that end:

Provide for the mobilization of all available resources to increase the rate of growth and efficiency of production, organizing and coordinating in cooperation with the enterprises a better utilization of their productive potential, and persistently endeavor to strengthen discipline and order;

Devise and take specific measures to ensure a fundamental improvement in satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people, and in response to their demands play a more active part in the restructuring of the entire sphere of consumer services;

Increase the severity of demands upon executive managers to coordinate and carry out on time plans for overall social and economic development with due regard for matters concerned with the satisfaction of the workers' needs and the implementation of their electoral mandate.

To carry out these tasks it will be necessary to make use of the resources inherent in the conversion of enterprises and associations to full financial accountability and self-financing.

The serious omissions in the efforts of the soviets to guide economic and socio-cultural construction are evidently in many respects a consequence of insufficient attention to the extension of democratic principles in its work. They have still not emancipated themselves from formalism and organization-style thinking. The deputies are low in vitality. The permanent commissions are little concerned with the preparation of questions to be considered by the executive committees in their meetings and conferences. A broad preliminary familiarization of workers with respect to the resolutions under consideration or the reports of officials is not a common practice.

Oblast soviets should keep close to the path towards democratization in conducting meetings and conferences of the executive committees and permanent commissions; they should create the conditions necessary for implementation of the powers authorized people's deputies.

Labor collectives, public organizations, and the people themselves should become more deeply involved in discussing social and economic issues. The soviets should react promptly to proposals and criticism of citizens, as disclosed by them in pre-election meetings, and they should regularly inform the citizens of their own activities and what is being done to carry out resolutions adopted.

It is necessary for the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Construction, the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building to expand production of high-quality consumer goods,

and to provide for the development of specialized production capacities in the enterprises of Chelyabinsk Oblast.

It is further proposed that the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and Western Siberia render practical assistance to the enterprises and organizations under their jurisdiction which are situated in Chelyabinsk Oblast in order to expand the scale of residential and social or cultural construction and to expedite the elimination of broken-down and dilapidated housing.

In view of the fact that many of the serious shortcomings that have been mentioned with reference to fulfilling the above-named decree are also characteristic of other regions of the country, the presidiums of the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics, together with their local soviets of people's deputies, are instructed to take decisive measures to restructure and to exercise the full power of their authority to speed economic growth and to overcome the lag in development of the social sphere. It is necessary to proceed from the fact that a major role in resolving these problems of social policy and improving consumer services belongs to the soviets, and these issues should be at the center of their attention, constituting a subject of special concern.

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MOLDAVIAN CP SECRETARY SMIRNOV ON WORK WITH LETTERS

PM160951 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Jun 87 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Smirnov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by special correspondents V. Kachurin and Yu. Solomonov under the rubric "Tackling a Pointed Issue": "A Letter... Arrived for the Central Committee"; passages between slantlines are readers' letters]

[Text] Kishinev--We did not manage to set up the meeting straightforwardly. "Viktor Ilich is not taking calls," his secretary informed us. "He is receiving working people. Try again late evening."

It turned out that we had phoned on a day when V.I. Smirnov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, was receiving visitors. This has already become a traditional, proven way for party bodies to work with people. Letters from working people serve as another powerful channel providing feedback. The Central Committee received around 16,000 letters last year. The mailbag has doubled in the last 3 years. This is primarily related to restructuring and positive processes which are developing in the republic, albeit still too slowly.

[Correspondents] Viktor Ilich, let us, nevertheless, try to examine the growth in letters to the Central Committee from a different angle. More complaints imply more breaches and shortcomings. But you, apparently, assess these figures positively. Is there not a contradiction here?

[Smirnov] My assertion will perhaps seem strange to you, but I consider that what we are receiving today are not complaints. No, really! According to the classic interpretation to which we are accustomed, there are no complaints today. People are not complaining. They are demanding, insisting, making suggestions, and reflecting. The first thing that strikes one on analyzing the mail is the level of social and political activeness of working people. We will not, of course, play down the significance of individual needs. But the social is nearly always perceptible behind the individual. What kind of problems, then, worry working people today?

Poor utilization of the scientific, production, economic, and social potential built up over the years of Soviet power, the low return on arable land, livestock units, and enterprises, and shortcomings in planning, cadre policy, the use of labor resources, and the solution of housing problems. For example, the level of social labor productivity in Moldavia is only 76 percent of the all-union average, while in terms of national income and real per capita earnings it is 82 percent [sentence as published]. In many letters readers support the party line aimed at all-around intensification, the instilling of good order, and merciless struggle against figure-padding.

/"The Fourth Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum made a really strong impression on me. How painful, offensive, and even incomprehensible it was to me... The figure-padding, misrepresentation, and deception. It was difficult for me even to talk to people about it. To pad out figures for oneself, one's own advantage, so that one's team comes first! For me that is simply incredible!"

(From a letter sent by G. Gurduza, team leader at Faleshtskiy Rayon's "XII Partsyezd" Kolkhoz)/

[Smirnov continues] People do not, of course, write just about production matters. In many letters workers, employees, and creative workers express alarm at the ecological situation prevailing in the republic. This alarm is understandable. Moldavia has the highest population density in Europe--125 people per sq km. This fact alone demands careful, rational use of natural resources. Add to this an acute water shortage. The former bias toward major livestock complexes, with manure simply hosed away, helped pollute surface and underground water. Industrial techniques involving intensive use of chemicals on fields and orchards with little use made of biological methods of plant protection created new environmental protection problems. Just think about it: We are using 10 times more pesticide per hectare than the average in the country. All this is bound to affect the quality of fruit and vegetables. With deterioration in the population's health in a number of places as a consequence. Hepatitis, cirrhosis of the liver, and lung disease are the leading ailments in those regions where the earth has been saturated with chemicals. All this worries and disturbs people.

Social questions are increasingly being raised in letters. That, in my view, is primarily due to the clear orientation of party plans toward a strong social policy and generating social commitment on the part of cadres. In the last 20 years the commissioning rate of fixed production capital in Moldavia has been twice as fast as the rate of construction of social and consumer facilities and three times as fast as housing construction. Only 67 percent of kindergarten and creche needs are met and the provision of consumer service enterprises, trade areas, hospital beds, dispensaries, and polyclinics lags behind the all-union indicators. And it is only natural that social themes are strongly pronounced in our mail. I remember how pained I was by a line in one letter: "Rivers of wine have been

produced but there is no milk for children to be found." Today we are building more school canteens and ensuring that every child is provided with milk. Some R2 million are annually being allocated as a priority from the republic budget precisely to improve the health of newborn infants. We were prompted to develop this program by people and their worried letters.

/"I consider that there is a weak link somewhere in work with cadres. Judge for yourself: Vyshku was thieving for 20 years and no one guessed! It did not even occur to me. After all, he lived among Soviet people, among Communists... How much people like Vyshka stole has been calculated. The moral harm done to society and our party is incalculable."

(From a letter by V. Paderin, Dubossary)/

[Correspondents]. Viktor Ilich, analysis of the mail received by the Central Committee enables the letters criticizing the activity of party, soviet, and economic leaders to be put in a distinct group. Are you not alarmed that restructuring is sometimes understood by people as a time to criticize superiors?

[Smirnov] I would qualify that expression by saying it is a time to criticize bad superiors, worthless leaders, and communists who have not justified the party's faith in them. When the republic press published uncut, as they say, the Fourth Moldavian Communist Party Plenum document on combating figure-padding and misrepresentation, I think that the republic experienced a kind of shock. The remedy is openness. The plenum caused an upsurge of social activeness and made many people think about their place in life, their place in the context of restructuring. Whole areas of social thought and social activity were invigorated. Some 2,500 communists were punished for figure-padding—a considerable number of them on the strength of working people's letters and critical comments. Around 200 senior officials on the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee approved appointments list were dismissed from their posts and 20 were prosecuted. The people withdrew the mandates of 33 republic supreme soviet deputies ahead of time as an expression of lack of confidence in them. Leaders alone returned to the state purse around R200,000 in illegal bonuses. As a result of figure-padding brought to light a number of leaders were stripped of their government awards. Some were even stripped of the Hero of Socialist Labor title...

But we Central Committee personnel do not, of course, have the right to punish or pardon, and we try to afford the party organization and labor collective the opportunity of selecting and deciding themselves. When letters from Nisporenskiy Rayon were examined at a Central Committee Bureau session it was decided that the raykom plenum should be allowed to settle the question of whether I. Kolibabe remained first secretary. The plenum lasted 5 hours. Communists told the bitter truth to the first secretary's face, made suggestions, and argued. The result was that they decided that Kolibabe would take note of the criticism and could continue leading the rayon party organization. The party severely penalized him. But what

is interesting is that one of the economic leaders voted "against" the first secretary and then stated that he was going to resign and played out a kind of farce, posing as a champion... You should not play such games with democracy and the majority opinion. Someone who is unwilling to work should be dismissed as prescribed by the law. Which will be done in this specific case.

[Correspondents] That example allows us to broach the phenomenon of social demagoguery. There are certainly quite a few letters, warnings, and appeals which describe precisely such a desire on the part of some people to exploit restructuring...

[Smirnov] Yes, the demagogue is unfortunately one of the personalities of restructuring. Formerly various rogues preferred to carry on their business on the quiet, fearing openness and giving official institutions a wide berth. Now, however, the same people hammer at their door, not simply asking but grabbing officials by the throat. This type does the rounds of the offices and sends in indignant letters. He is armed not with a bunch of picklocks but with a knowledge of our laws which he uses as a picklock. He tries to enlist public opinion, openness, and the democratic norms of our life as allies. Try not to pay any heed or you will be overwhelmed by his heart-rending cry: "Is anyone watching our bosses? Under restructuring everyone is equal!"

Precisely so, everyone is equal. And that is why the demagogue, the slanderer, and the anonymous letter-writer must be equally accountable to the law.

/"A.N. Paranyan, director of the 'Berzovskiy' Sovkhoz, is abusing his official position and has lost all notion of conscience. While already having a fine apartment he has built a detached house and engaged in shady deals, selling grain from the depot. At a party meeting and in the presence of a representative of the party raykom he has tried to compromise the party organization secretary. And he gets away with all this. How long is this going to go on?"

(Anonymous letter from Novoanenskiy Rayon)/

[Correspondents] We clearly cannot avoid the issue of anonymous letters in our conversation...

[Smirnov] Yes, the disease of anonymity does exist. But I do not regard all anonymous letters in the same way. There is an opinion current that all anonymous letters deserve nothing better than the wastebasket. I do not share that opinion. Sensitivity, tact, care in sifting through such letters, and the ability to separate the mud-slinging and unscrupulous attempts to invade people's personal lives from information that really needs to be checked are what are important, in my view. A. Paranyan, director of "Berezovskiy" Sovkhoz, was actually abusing his official position and was expelled from the CPSU and dismissed from his job for

that. /PEOPLE SOMETIMES DO NOT SIGN, AND YOU CAN QUITE UNDERSTAND THEM. THEY ARE AFRAID OF RETALIATION OR CRITICISM/ [capitalized passage between slantlines published in boldface].

An incredible, tragic case occurred in Kriulyanskiy Rayon not long ago. Rural activist Anatoliy Verdesh wrote several letters to party, soviet, and health bodies. However, the letters, in which he reported figure-padding, hounding, threats, and persecution, were returned to the rayon and quietly ignored. It ended with his being brutally murdered. A competent commission that investigated the matter came to the firm conclusion that Anatoliy Verdesh was the victim of persecution because of his criticism. He was feared by those whom he could have exposed at the expected trial. All these glaring facts were subjected to strict, principled assessment at a recent Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session. The bureau regards the murder as a "political act of revenge for criticism"...

Life shows us that restructuring is a dour, merciless, and revolutionary struggle in the full sense of that word.

[Correspondents] The incident you have described is not, of course, typical. But in dealing with complaints and warnings from working people there are typical features. One of them is the letter returned whence it came. We appreciate that it is not possible to dispatch a commission from the "center" for every appeal, but how, nevertheless, do you regard the monitoring of the work with letters?

[Smirnov] First, a few words about how we deal with letters sent to the Central Committee. The General Department carefully watches how letters progress through other departments. The question of apparatus staffers' attitudes to working people's statements is examined at our party meetings and does not escape the scrutiny of the certification commission either. Roundups of letters are compiled and questions raised in the letters are submitted at sessions of the Central Committee Secretariat and Bureau.

Quite a few examples of this could be cited.

But there is another effective way of dealing with letters. Quite often after checking a particular letter the republic Communist Party Central Committee does not consign it to the archives but sends it to the press for publication. It is possible that this will appear to some people to be an example of the lamentable practice of washing one's dirty linen in public, but we think it a very, very useful practice. The public should know that party organs do not simply deal with letters but also do not fear the publicizing of the facts cited in them. You have in front of you a special anthology entitled "Working People of the Republic Ponder, Make Suggestions, and Argue." We plan to continue publishing these anthologies regularly and want to make them thematic. This one is devoted to cadre policy, the previous one to the campaign against unauthorized earnings and drunkenness... Letters are often incorporated in reports and speeches by Central Committee personnel. I would also like to say that two-thirds of all letters received are examined by the first or second secretary of the Republic Communist Party Central Committee.

[Correspondents] What you said is indeed valuable experience of work with letters. But it is the work of the Central Committee apparatus. How are we to monitor how complaints and the people who make them are dealt with at local level, far from the center?

[Smirnov] A tricky question. Let me begin by describing the following incident. The residents of Aneny village, Kotovskiy Rayon, asked at various levels for a kindergarten to be built in the village. The Central Committee instructed the State Agroindustrial Committee and the rayispolkom to look into the matter. The official reply was soon received that the kindergarten would be built. But some time later I received a letter from Aneny telling us that we had been misled and misinformed. I had to go to the village myself, inviting members of the party raykom bureau and representatives of the Gosagroprom and...television to go with me. We met in winter in the unheated village club, but the leaders were in the hot seat--in full view of the villagers. They did not escape without criticism. Afterward the republic television twice ran "features" on the topic. To cut a long story short, 10 weeks later I received an invitation to the ceremonial opening of the kindergarten. And what a fine one it was!

[Correspondents] An interesting example, of course. But you do not send a Central Committee secretary to check up on every letter. We are talking about improving the actual mechanism of work with letters and working people's appeals. A mechanism is needed to prevent delay and purely formal replies and preclude "repeat" letters and complaints addressed to the capital. We know that the republic is among the leaders in terms of the number of complaints sent to Moscow...

[Smirnov] Yes, that used to be the case. But now the situation is steadily improving. People have begun to realize that "the truth can be found at home, too".... You began talking about improving the mechanism of work with letters. I see just one way--the democratization of this activity. In other words, it is necessary to actively involve the elected aktiv, social organizations, women's councils, veterans' councils, village meetings, and so forth in the analysis of letters. Here I cannot help recalling Aniskin, the hero of the Lipatov novel. We need to breathe life into the institution of militia district inspectors and make them the personification of humanity and social justice and thus of Soviet power. The people will take their problems to such Anisksins.

[Correspondents] There is no denying that. Openness and collective leadership are an excellent means of combating the suppression of criticism and various shortcomings in the collective's life. But you will agree that the collective is often wrong, too. The tragic story which you told in which most of the villagers, united by clannishness, opposed an activist who was struggling against distortion, is a clear case of group self-interest and the corporate mentality. Here is another example--from the sphere of culture. In a secret ballot held during certification at the Moldavian Opera and Ballet Theater Marina Kurdyumova, a soloist whose professional qualities are beyond question, was not reelected. The reason given was her "disreputable" character. I do not suppose that everyone likes your character, either, Viktor Ilich...

[Smirnov] This is a complicated question. We have become accustomed to believing that the collective is always right. But first you have to see whether this is actually a collective. Perhaps it is no more than an association of people working together whose existence is made possible by mutual protection?

I am not sure that we should always be guided by the opinion of the majority in all cases. Perhaps it would be best to be guided by the interests of society rather than by the sum of individual interests, in other words, by the common cause! Let me give you the following example. A group of veterans sent the Central Committee a proposal which, at first glance, seemed to contradict the majority opinion. They suggested taking a high-rise building belonging to the "Viktoriya" science-and-production association and about to be commissioned and giving it to the...young people of the town. Can you imagine? Hand over a complete production facility to the nonproduction sphere and house a puppet theater and a cultural center there. But eventually, after a long debate covering all the "pros and cons," the veterans' idea prevailed. And that was precisely how the impressively fitted and luxurious center designed for receptions came to be transferred to the Ministry of Culture. Sometimes just one person can begin work of tremendous importance and can win over the so-called "majority opinion." But it is better when the truth finds support among the collective and above all in the party organization, which is the nucleus of restructuring today.

/"The first time that I wrote to you many people laughed and said that it was a waste of time. But now that everything has been put right and the truth has triumphed, the atmosphere here in the team and the shop has changed completely. People have been convinced by a real-life example that order is being established. The main thing now is to be honest and work well, the truth is on our side, the party will do us no wrong and we will always be with the party. Thank you again. I shall continue working wholeheartedly.

(Svetlana Yudina, a worker, from Durleshti village)."/

[Correspondents] Viktor Ilich, your work with working people's letters and appeals and your very frequent meetings with people must all somehow influence party workers, too. This is, in its way, a process of mutual benefit. What do you personally get from letters, meetings, questions from audiences?

[Smirnov] To say that I get a lot from it is probably stating the obvious. But it is true. For the audience, as a rule, there are no bad questions, just bad answers. Contacts—through letters or face-to-face meetings with people—make us constantly aware of the complexity and diversity of life and social, political, and spiritual ties and teach us how to distinguish and seek out the truth in the most complex situations. And life throws up quite a few situations of that kind.

Take the problem of relations among nations within the republic. After all, we receive a good many letters on that theme. They include those whose authors try to alter the emphasis of Lenin's nationalities policy, which the party pursues consistently and steadfastly.

For example, some representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia have touched on problems such as "Russification" during my meetings with them and in notes and letters. They argue that you find quite a lot of Russian schools in the republic. We analyzed the situation and it turned out that 63.9 percent of the republic's population is Moldavian and that 63.8 percent of the schools provide instruction in Moldavian while only 28.1 percent do so in Russian. But it is not even a question of the figures alone. This process just cannot be regulated by straightforward administrative methods, without taking account of local peculiarities, the national structure of the population, and people's needs. For instance, we received a letter from Tiraspol asking for an extra school to be opened offering education in Moldavian and we tried to do that. Only three families expressed a desire for their children to be taught at that school. The population there is predominantly Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish, or from other nationalities. On the other hand we needed to expand the network of schools using Moldavian in Kishinev, Bendery, Beltsy, and Orgeyev... There are 36 purely Moldavian schools out of the 42 in Kriulyanskiy Rayon. What kind of "Russification" is that supposed to be? And another point: Our society is undergoing an historically objective process of internationalization. Russian is essential as the language of international communication in all areas today--in the army, the VUZ, the international labor collective, the family, and finally in the case of mixed marriages. But there must be absolutely no obstacle to the development of a national culture here, no shackling of people's individuality or severing of their roots.

When the Central Committee began receiving letters from the Gagauzy and Bulgarians living in Moldavia asking for help in setting up their own national creative collectives, publishing printed works, and educating their children in schools using their native languages, this was supported by party organs. Some work has already been done in this direction: The radio, television, newspapers, publishing houses, and schools have begun paying more attention to the spiritual life of the representatives of those nationalities. All appeals of this kind will find support among party organs so long as they do not contain elements of national narrow-mindedness or echoes of chauvinism. Our strength is in our internationalism and in respect for the culture of other nations and ethnic groups. And of course, in all this, the other spiritual values given to us by the Great October Revolution should not be overlooked.

Any letter containing a good idea must be supported and publicized. Then there will be more of those letters in the future. Because ultimately people must be sure that the party committee is a political organ. It must not take the place of other organizations, as still often happens, but be really creative and conduct political work and people's education.

[Correspondents] But at the moment most of the alarm letters, letters on the most diverse themes, are being sent to party organs. What does this indicate, in your view?

[Smirnov] The most facile conclusion would be that it indicates their high standing. But we both know that this is not the full answer. And we know why people write mostly to us. I dream of a time when letters on apartment repairs are sent solely to the housing administration, medical assistance exclusively to the city health administration, or Komsomol affairs only to the Komsomol committee. But for the time being...for the time being I have to look at the latest mail.

/9604
CSO: 1830/594

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

FEBRUARY GEORGIAN CP CC BUREO MEETINGS

Acceleration, Student Discipline Discussed

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At the meeting held on 10 February, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee buro defined the first priority measures for organizing the implementation of the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the tasks and directives contained in the speech presented by CPSU Central Committee Secretary General, comrade M. S. Gorbachev.

The republic's party committees were told to broadly expand work directed at accelerating socio-economic progress, at restructuring in the sphere of personnel policy, at the continued democratization of social life, and primarily at expanding openness and comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the work of party organizations and economic managers of the republic's industrial enterprises where state acceptance of production has been introduced. It was noted that the party organizations and enterprise management have performed significant work in the preparation and stable functioning of the labor collectives under conditions of state acceptance. At the same time, the work of the Tbilisi Machine Tool Building Production Association, the "Kutaisi Automobile Plant" Production Association, the Rustavi Metallurgical and Crane Building Plants, the "Azot" [nitrogen] Production Association, the Tskhinvali "Elektrovibromashina" Plant, the Kutaisi Furniture Combine, the Tbilisi "Ekran" [screen] Plant and the Tbilisi Casting Equipment Plant imeni Kalinin, which do not provide for state acceptance of production in the given volumes, was judged to be insufficient.

The Central Committee Buro directed the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, as well as the leadership of the ministries and departments, to take exhaustive measures for eliminating the shortcomings which have been found. It also focused their attention on the need for more objective management of the course of state acceptance.

Having discussed the note from Georgian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary D. Margvelidze, "On students from Georgia studying at VUZes in the

cities of Rostov-on-Don and Vologda," the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro focused attention on the gross disruptions in the order of certifying graduates in the GSSR Gosprofobr [state vocational education] system, and on the absence of proper control on the part of local party, soviet and Komsomol organs over the behavior and achievement of students studying within the confines of the republic.

[The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro] also reviewed questions of unsatisfactory organization in training drivers of motor transport in the Georgian SSR, as well as questions of the gross disruptions of labor discipline at the Scientific-Research Institute of Mountain Forestry imeni V. Gulashvili under the GSSR Minleskhoz [Ministry of the Forestry Industry]. The text of the adopted resolutions will be published.

A joint resolution was adopted by the Georgian CP Central Committee and the GSSR Council of Ministers on measures for regulating the mechanical growth of the population of Tbilisi.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro also reviewed other questions related to the socio-political and national economic life of the republic.

Control Work, Anti-Alcohol Battle Cited

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Feb 87 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Having discussed at its regular meeting the results of work of the Commission for Party Control under the Georgian CP Central Committee for 1986, the Central Committee Buro noted that the CPC has intensified control over the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 27th Georgian Communist Party Congress on the basic questions of the republic's socio-economic development, on strengthening party and state discipline, on the adherence to party directive requirements by communists, and on the struggle against negative occurrences. Having approved the activity of the CPC, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro stressed the need for further strengthening its influence in eradicating all sorts of disruptions and abuses. We must strive to see that the inspections are conducted in a planned and systematic manner and that they be aimed at increasing the responsibility of communists, and primarily management workers, for the more complete utilization of material resources, for maintaining a regimen of economy and thrift, and for affirming socialist legality, Leninist standards of party life, and communist morals.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro, considering the growing importance of control work, directed the party gorkoms and raykoms to give constant party commission aid and support and to direct their efforts toward direct participation in work on ensuring the development of democracy and openness and on creating an atmosphere of high principles and irreconcilability with shortcomings.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro heard information presented by the chairman of the republic Commission on Combatting Drunkenness, Alcoholism and Drug Addiction, GSSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman Z. Chkheidze. It suggested that the commission step up its work directed at improving coordination and control over the activity of all interested ministries and departments, as well as the work of social organizations on fulfilling the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the existing decisions of the Georgian CP Central Committee on intensifying the struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism and the spread of drug addiction. The party committees and republic soviet organs were directed to intensify their work on improving the ideological-moral climate, on raising the upcoming generation, on preventing crime, on coordinating and controlling the activity of the primary party organizations, the organs of the procurator's office, the justice department, the departments of internal affairs, public health, public organizations, and enterprises, organizations and institutions on eradicating drunkenness and drug addiction. They must also bring to strict party responsibility any officials who do not provide for restructuring in this most important sector.

Having heard and discussed the report of CPSU member and Gurdzhaani RAPO [Rayon Agricultural Production Association] Chairman O. Dzhokhadze on the work performed on introducing cost accounting and the collective order in the rayon, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro found it to be unsatisfactory. The Gurdzhaani party raykom and the rayon agroindustrial association were directed to take the necessary measures for decisively accelerating the processes of introducing progressive forms of labor organization and wages, for influencing the consciousness of the people, for eliminating the shortcomings which have been discovered in this important cause, and for further increasing agricultural production.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat heard the report presented by CPSU member and editor-in-chief of the journal SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI (Communist of Georgia) V. Keshelava on the reorganization of work of the editorial collective in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On the journal KOMMUNIST". The work of the editorial staff in this direction was found to be inadequate. Specific measures were outlined for eliminating the shortcomings which have been identified. The text of the resolution adopted on this question will be published.

[The Central Committee Secretariat] also heard the information presented by CPSU member and Georgian SSR First Deputy Minister of Culture I. Gamrekeli on the work performed in certain state theatres in the republic which are participating in the integrated experiment on improving the management and increasing the effectiveness of theatrical work. It was noted that the experiment, which is being conducted in the Academy Theatre of Opera and Ballet imeni Z. Paliashvili, the Academy Theatres imeni Sh. Rustaveli and K. Mardzhani-shvili, and the Telavi State Drama Theatre, facilitates the development of creative initiative of the theatrical collectives, their increased responsibility for formulating the repertoire, the development of the moral-artististic level of the plays, and the stronger effect of theatrical art in developing a communist world outlook in the viewers. At the same time, it was stressed that the restructuring in the activity of theatres is still being slowly implemented.

The Ministry of Culture, the Georgian Union of Theatrical Workers, and the republic's state theatres and their primary party organizations were directed to take exhaustive measures for the successful implementation of the experiment and for increasing the effectiveness of functioning of the theatrical collectives.

The meetings of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat also reviewed certain other questions dealing with the socio-political and economic life of the republic.

Discipline Violations in Timber Industry

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Feb 87 p 2

[Gruzinform report: "In the Georgian CP Central Committee: To Strengthen Labor Discipline" (First paragraph is source introduction)]

[Text] The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee reviewed the question of gross disruptions of labor discipline at the Scientific-Research Institute of Mountain Forestry imeni V. Gulashvili under the Georgian SSR Ministry of the Forestry Industry.

It was noted that certain economic managers and party and trade union organizations have reconciled themselves with a low level of labor discipline and are not taking all the measures within their authority to bring about complete order in the labor collectives. Such an attitude toward maintaining discipline does not correspond to the requirements of the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU entitled "On Intensifying Work in Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline."

Under the conditions of the broadly expanded general restructuring, when the continued strengthening of labor discipline and increased degree of organization and order take on exceptional importance, cases of gross violations uncovered at the Scientific-Research Institute on Mountain Forestry imeni V. Gulashvili are especially intolerable. Thus, during investigation it was found that almost half of the workers came to work late, while some were absent altogether for the entire work day. Tardiness and absences at the institute bear a systematic character. However, no decisive measures of action are being taken in regard to those who violate labor discipline. This creates an atmosphere of all-forgiveness and all-permissiveness. The responsibility of subsection managers and party and Komsomol members for maintaining labor discipline is low. There are even many violators among this group. There is no system of control on the part of the party and trade union organizations for strengthening labor discipline. The people's control group does not function. The moral training work performed in the collective suffers with formalism and does not ensure maintenance of the proper order.

A number of scientific associates, as well as workers holding more than one position and working part-time at the institute, are outside the control of the administration due to the absence of documents regimenting their work day. They come to work irregularly. The institute's directorship and party organization do not ensure the appropriate organizational conditions for highly productive work and for intensive labor. They make poor use of the available

scientific potential for performing the important tasks facing the collective. An air of good-naturedness and a conciliatory attitude toward shortcomings and violations of labor discipline reign within the institution.

The fact that this labor collective is not an exception is cause for concern. In the course of an investigation of the state of labor discipline conducted in Tbilisi, many cases of violations were discovered, including those committed by representatives of other regions. This is evidence of the fact that at certain republic enterprises, organizations and institutions the struggle for strengthening discipline and overcoming drunkenness, alcoholism and other negative phenomena has still not reached the necessary pitch.

The resolution adopted by the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro acknowledged the unsatisfactory work of the directorship, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of the Scientific-Research Institute of Mountain Forestry imeni V. Guliasashvili on strengthening labor discipline, ensuring proper order, and creating an atmosphere of creative scientific endeavor in the collective.

It was noted that the primary party organization of the Scientific-Research Institute of Mountain Forestry, having discussed the question of the state of labor discipline, issued a strict reprimand to institute Director G. N. Gigauri; a reprimand with entry into the work record--to E. D. Lobzhanidze, deputy director and chairman of the staff on strengthening discipline; a strict reprimand--to Deputy Director N. G. Tarasashvili; a reprimand with entry into the work record--to party buro Secretary D. V. Lomidze; and a strict reprimand to trade union committee Chairman M. A. Sharabidze. Other guilty parties were also punished.

Institute Director G. N. Gigauri was warned that he is personally responsible for bringing about order in the scientific institution, and if analogous cases should recur, he will be subject to the strictest measures of party and administrative action. The directorship and party organization of the institute have been instructed to perform an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the situation which has arisen and the extremely low level of organization and labor discipline. They are to take exhaustive measures for bringing about order and creating conditions for highly productive work.

The Georgian CP obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms must intensify their struggle for overall strengthening of labor discipline and improving organization and order at the enterprises and organizations, and especially at the scientific-research institutions. They must formulate in each collective an atmosphere of high exactingness and responsibility and apply effective measures of party, social and administrative action to those who violate discipline in accordance with the effective legislation.

The resolution noted the inadequacy of the work performed by the party committees, the ministries and departments, and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the republic on increasing the degree of responsibilities of the managers of enterprises, institutions and organizations for the state of labor discipline and for order in the collectives. It stressed that we must consistently implement the party requirement that managers who do not ensure the proper level of discipline cannot be allowed to remain in their official positions.

Economy, Housing, Unearned Income

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27. Feb 87 p.1

[Unattributed report: "In the Georgian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the work of the management and party organization at the Tbilisi "Mikrodvigatel" Plant of the "Gruzelektromash" Production Association under conditions of state acceptance of products. It noted that the measures taken by the management and party organization of this association do not provide for an improvement in the quality of manufactured product or for high end results. This has led to the underfulfillment of the technical-economic indicators for January and has threatened to undermine fulfillment of the planned tasks for February and for the first quarter as a whole. Practical measures have been outlined for correcting the situation which has arisen.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the results of fulfillment of the plan for production of consumer goods by the industry of the Georgian SSR for 1986 and the tasks of party, soviet and economic management organs on ensuring the realization of the republic integrated program. Having acknowledged the work on realization of the republic's integrated program for the development of consumer goods production to be inadequate, the Central Committee Buro noted the unsatisfactory work of a number of ministries, departments, production associations and enterprises which did not fulfill their plan assignments for 1986.

The Georgian CP oblast, city and rayon committees, the Abkhaz and Adzhar ASSR Councils of Ministers, and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast and the cities and rayons of the Georgian SSR were directed to implement strict control over the fulfillment of plans and tasks of the integrated program, to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of control over the output of consumer goods at enterprises located on their territory, and to take effective measures in meeting public consumer demand to the greatest possible degree.

Having reviewed the question on the financial state of the republic's Gosagro-prom [State Committee on Agricultural Production] system, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro gave a strict and principled evaluation of the shortcomings which exist here, and outlined practical measures for eliminating them.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro, having reviewed the question of serious violations of party and state discipline in the the republic's capital construction, adopted an appropriate resolution whose text will be published.

Having discussed the question of the work on introducing cost accounting and the collective order at the Egrisskiy Livestock Raising Sovkhoz complex in Lmanisskiy rayon, the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro found it to be unsatisfactory. The text of the resolution adopted on this question will be published.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat heard the information presented by CPSU member and Chairman of the GeSSR Supreme Court A. Karanadze on the measures taken for realization of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on intensifying the struggle against unearned income. Having noted that the republic's Supreme Court is performing definite work in light of the demands of the indicated CPSU Central Committee resolution and the corresponding decisions of the Georgian CP Central Committee, the Central Committee Secretariat nevertheless pointed out that there are still some shortcomings in the work of the republic's judicial organs. These shortcomings reduce the effectiveness of the efforts which are being made to step up the struggle against bribery, misappropriation of socialist property, speculation, and other sources of gaining unearned income.

The GeSSR Supreme Court and its party organization were directed to continue implementation of the measures aimed at improving the quality of judicial proceedings in the republic, at restructuring the work of the people's courts for purposes of ensuring reliable protection of the interests of the state and the rights of the citizens, and at strictly adhering to socialist legality and increased effectiveness of the fight against crime.

The question on the state and measures for continued development of football [soccer] in the republic was reviewed. The Georgian CP Central Committee Secretariat noted the insufficient work performed in this direction by a number of the republic's ministries and departments. For the purpose of correcting the shortcomings which have been uncovered, it was deemed necessary to set the first priority task of further developing mass children's-youth and student football, creating a singular effective system of seeking out and selecting the athletic reserve, training high class football players for leading teams in the republic, developing forms of ideological moral training for football players, skillfully utilizing sports activities for developing an active civic outlook in the youth, bringing about proper order in the organization of competitions, making every case of unethical behavior by athletes, trainers or judges the subject of strict judgement, giving constant attention to moral upbringing work among football enthusiasts, and conducting discussions on problems of football and leading teams in an atmosphere of openness and broad community information.

The Georgian CP Central Committee Buro and Secretariat meetings also discussed certain other questions relating to the national economic and socio-political life of the republic.

12322
CSO: 1830/524

PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

KIRGHIZ CP RAYKOM INVESTIGATES DISMISSAL OF WHISTLEBLOWER

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 June 1987 carries on page 2 a 200-word report under the rubric "An Answer Is Received" titled "The Reader Was Right." The article reports that a letter received from a reader, O. Konurbayev, describing "embezzlement, theft, and excesses which were allowed by the head of the kolkhoz imeni Lenina in Kalininskiy Rayon, V. Zuyev," was forwarded to the Kirghiz CP Central Committee for action. The reader had been relieved of his duties by the kolkhoz management.

The results of the investigation were examined at a meeting of the raykom buro. V. Zuyev was relieved of his duties and expelled from the party for "the suppression of criticism, the persecution of O. Konurbayev and his family, the gross violation of financial and economic discipline, a negligent and undemanding attitude toward specialists which resulted in significant economic loss to the kolkhoz, personal indiscretion, and the abuse of his official position." The materials of the investigation were forwarded to the republic Public Prosecutor's Office to examine the question of bringing criminal charges against those parties responsible for allowing the violations to occur.

/9604
CSO: 1830/589

UZBEK CP CC BUREO MEETINGS DETAILED

CPSU CC Criticism of Perm Obkom

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Jan 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] As reported, the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of the work of the Uzbekistan CP Bukharskiy obkom in light of the directives of the CPSU Central Committee on the report by the Perm party obkom.

The adopted resolution notes that the Bukharskiy party obkom, in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and implementing the course toward acceleration of socio-economic development, is striving to elevate the level of party management in the spirit of restructuring. However, this process is occurring at an extremely slow rate and is not being supported by organizational and political work at all levels.

In realizing the capacities for deep and qualitative changes in the economic and social life which have arisen since the Congress, the obkom is making poor use of the huge political and labor uplift caused by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in all the party organizations and in all the oblast's collectives.

The secretaries in charge of the party obkom sections and the instructional staff have not achieved collectivity and frankness, exactingness and consistency in making decisions and implementing control over their fulfillment. While calling for restructuring, they themselves have not been imbued with the spirit of acceleration. They are more concerned with managerial functions. As before, they continue to seek out reasons for explaining the existing situation instead of bringing about order in the national economy.

The party, soviet and economic leaders, as well as the middle management personnel and the rank-and file have in their overwhelming majority become imbued with the firm conviction that the set tasks are unrealistic, and exhibit a mistrust of their capacities. The mark-ups which were allowed in the past have created an environment of ease with which the plans were fulfilled, and primarily in agriculture. Discipline and responsibility for the organization of production declined. The party obkom did not notice the development of these tendencies in time and, as a result, the desire to achieve reduced plans and thereby to weaken the intensity of the work is being felt again and again.

The party obkom has been unable to create a unified front in the struggle for acceleration. It is trying to solve the socio-economic problems which have come to a head through old and ineffective measures. As a result, the unfavorable tendencies in utilization of the production potential have not yet been overcome. The yield on capital in industry is declining. A number of productions in the textile combine are operating at only one-third capacity. Over half of the enterprises continue to operate in one shift. The silk winding and footwear factories and the karakul [sheepskin] plant are utilizing obsolescent equipment and outdated technology. There is no demand for many of the fabrics, sewn goods and footwear which are produced. Over 10 million rubles worth of these products have piled up in the warehouses. Local industry is not oriented toward the output of goods which are in high public demand and made from local resources. A significant portion of these goods must be brought in. One out of three enterprises violates its contract delivery agreements.

Serious concern has been expressed regarding the extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs in the oblast's agroindustrial complex. In the past 5 years, capital investments in agriculture have increased here by 1.5 times, while the volume of gross production has declined by 16 percent. Last year the plan for procurement of practically all types of plant-growing products was not fulfilled and deliveries to the all-union fund were undermined. None of the rayons fulfilled their plan assignments for cotton production, and in many farms its crop yield was below 25 centners. All too often, managers and specialists speak out against the mechanization of cotton harvesting and have a careless attitude toward technology.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands of city residents and students are taken away from their duties for long periods of time to work in the fields. Work on replenishment of previously tilled fields and on reclamation of planting areas is poor in the oblast. As a result, 15,000 hectares of arable land has fallen into disuse over the five-year period. The crop yield of fruits, vegetables and potatoes is only 1/5 to 1/10 that specified in the plan. The per capita production of food products remains the lowest in the republic. Yet the course of implementation of the Food Program in recent years has not once been examined in-depth in the oblast party committee.

A serious inhibiting factor in the path of development of productive forces is the chronic lagging behind of capital construction. The plans have not been fulfilled on a single one of the basic indicators. Only 5 percent of the capital investments last year were directed toward reconstruction and technical retooling. There is 22 million rubles worth of uninstalled equipment which has piled up. A third of this equipment is imported.

Despite the acute shortage of workers in most sectors of the national economy, and especially in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the number of persons not employed in social production is increasing, and comprises about 100,000 people. Only 1,500 persons are engaged in in-home forms of labor, and the brigade order is slow in being introduced.

In its resolution on the Perm party obkom, the CPSU Central Committee focused particular attention on the need for strengthening the social directionality

of the economy's development. An examination of these questions as applied to Bukharskiy oblast shows that here too these problems remain in the background as before. The labor collectives do not have their own program of social development. The enterprises and educational institutions receive only half of the required public dining. There are 150,000 people in need of improved housing conditions. This problem is particularly acute for the oblast center and the cities of Kagan, Gizhduvan and Romitan. At the same time, cooperative and individual construction and the construction of facilities through one's own resources are not being developed as they should be. As yet, no measures have been taken to ensure fulfillment of the Congress directives stating that every family must have its own apartment or house by the year 2000.

The serious shortcomings in the socio-economic development are a result of the fact that party obkom First Secretary, Comrade I. Dzhabbarov, oblispolkom Chairman, Comrade N. Narzullayev and other buro members of the oblast Soviet obkom and ispolkom who have headed up major sectors of the work in the oblast, are in no hurry to institute changes and reconcile themselves with marking time in the matter of changing economic management over to the intensive path of development. As before, the emphasis is being placed on the development and adoption of numerous decisions, while organizational and political work remains in the background. Last year the party obkom adopted over 100 resolutions, but only 2 of them were implemented. Questions relating to the development of agriculture were discussed 17 times at the obkom buro. Yet not a single decision was substantiated by on-site control. As a result, there were serious failures in this sector.

Practically nothing has changed in the work of the plenums and the active membership meetings. Excess organization and the appearance of restructuring and party democracy are allowed in their preparation and implementation. References to Congress materials sound like a tribute to necessity. The style and methods of work of the party committees, their secretaries and department heads remain above criticism. The party workers of the obkom, the Alatskiy, Romitanskiy, Kaganskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Peshkunskiy raykoms, and especially the Bukharskiy gorkom, as well as comrade G. Kh. Khalimov, who is personally in charge of the obkom's organizational-party section, work in the old manner. They rarely visit the primary organizations. Their visits are ineffective, as they generally meet with the management personnel and limited active membership and never reach the lower ranks, the rank-and-file communists, and the masses of non-party members. The regulation of acceptance into the CPSU is done mechanically and is removed from the tasks of strengthening the party strata at decisive sectors of production. The structure of the lower party levels also requires improvement.

The requirements set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress and the April (1985) and June (1986) CP Plenums to increase the practicality and efficiency of the cadres are often replaced with declarations and appeals. Many questions of personnel selection and placement are resolved without the proper principle and continuity. There is an absence of broad openness, collectivity and consideration of the opinions of primary party organizations and labor collectives, and oftentimes there is confusion.

The party obkom has not drawn any conclusions from the fact that the negative phenomena in the oblast have had an especially serious character. As a result, of the managers promoted over the last 2 years, 90 have been dismissed for negative reasons. Many officials continue to engage in mark-ups and show. Yet the party obkom is tolerant of the guilty parties, limits itself to one-time measures and does not give such cases proper evaluation. A real personnel reserve has not yet been created. There is practically no work being done with the electoral active membership. Many graduates of party schools are employed outside their specialty.

The party committees have not restructured their work on the management of the Soviets, trade unions and Komsomol in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. They allow excess centralization in the resolution of questions entering into their sphere of competence, and quite often they even allow a clear substitution of their function. The local Soviets have found themselves removed from an entire series of their direct responsibilities as defined by the Congress. Democratic principles are developing slowly in their activity. They exhibit little independence in resolving questions of social restructuring, transport, consumer, communal, trade and medical services, environmental protection, and strengthening law and order. The trade union organs have let socialist competition take its own course. Most of the well-known labor feats and innovative initiatives in Bukharskiy Oblast find no support or promulgation. The Komsomol has no specific serious assignments. Formalism in resolving the everyday inquiries of the workers has evoked a flood of letters from Bukharskiy Oblast to higher institutions.

In its ideological and political education work, the party obkom is weak in embodying the directive of the 27th CPSU Congress regarding the concentration of effort on individual work with people. The party organizations have lost sight of the tasks of training an industrial working class from among the youth of local nationality. Moral training and formulation of the international consciousness of the masses is also a weak link. The party obkom is not utilizing all its means of moral influence for widely promulgating the scientific-materialistic ideology and for overcoming religious prejudices, patriarchal customs and traditions. There are over 200 unregistered mullahs practicing in the oblast, and the number of religious customs is not declining. The crime rate is increasing and there has been a sharp rise in the use of drugs. Work on overcoming drunkenness and eradicating unearned income is being performed on a narrow scale, without the participation of the community. Most of the cultural institutions and sports facilities are idle. The means of mass information have found themselves removed from restructuring. The level of publication of rayon newspapers is extremely low. In recent years, the party obkom has not supported a single endeavor or critical statement by the local press.

From all this it follows that the Bukharskiy party obkom has not restructured the forms and methods of party management in accordance with the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and has not subordinated the organizational and political work of the party committees and primary organizations to the tasks of restructuring and acceleration and the mobilization of communists and all workers of the oblast toward the energetic fulfillment of the tasks set by the Congress.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee focused the attention of the Bukharskiy party obkom, its buro and its first secretary, comrade I. Dzhabbarov, on the serious miscalculations and omissions in the organization of fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the extreme slowness in restructuring its thinking, the style of party management, and the entire national economic mechanism.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee ordered the party obkom, as required by the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the report of the Perm party obkom, to conduct an in-depth and self-critical investigation into the complex processes taking place in the party, economic and social life of the oblast, to draw constructive conclusions from the serious failures in the national economy, and to implement practical measures for eliminating the existing shortcomings.

Criticism was levelled at the opinion regarding the unrealistic nature of the plans for agricultural production, which has arisen in the oblast party organization and which is in no way justified. It was deemed especially intolerable when this opinion is spread by the oblast managers themselves, including also the party obkom secretaries.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee demanded from party obkom First Secretary Comrade I. Dzhabbarov and party obkom buro member and oblispolkom Chairman Comrade N. Narzullayev, as well as from the oblast party committee as a whole, that they take decisive measures which would make it possible to bring the oblast's national economy to the leading boundaries in terms of technical level and effectiveness in the shortest time possible. They must ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the tasks for 1987 and the five-year plan as a whole on all indicators and must make up for the delays which were allowed in 1986 by means of broadly developing socialist competition for a suitable celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations, based on the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the report of the Perm party obkom, were ordered to implement a specific program for restructuring the organizational and political work and to be more aggressive in seeking out new forms and methods reflecting the spirit of the times.

In reviewing and promoting personnel, such democratic forms as discussion of candidates at open party meetings, election of managers and their periodic reporting to communist and labor collectives, and affirmation of objective and principle characteristics at these meetings should be more widely practiced.

Work with the personnel reserve must be radically restructured. We must make widespread use of work probationary periods and certification and patiently help workers who have been selected to master their assigned task. In the course of the five-year period, we must train no less than 150 future party and soviet workers in the party VUZes. We must give a strict party evaluation to those who do not maintain executive discipline, violate the principles of party ethics and communist morals, and choose the path of deception of the state and the people.

We must put an end to rigid organization in preparing for and conducting plenums and meetings and encourage open and objective criticism and self-criticism at them. We must react sharply and efficiently to the comments and suggestions of communists. We must give close attention to organizational work on implementing the resolutions directly on site. We must perform selection to the party ranks in a goal oriented manner, based on the tasks of strengthening party influence over all the leading sectors of culture and the economy. We must continually improve the structure of the party organizations, and especially the lower echelons.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee ordered the party obkom to direct its ideological work toward increasing the political, social and labor activity of the masses. [The obkom] must develop the in-depth study of the documents of the 27th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee Plenums among communists, workers, and the entire population of the oblast. It must increase attention towards questions of instilling a sense of patriotism and internationalism among the people, and especially among the youth. It must radically alter its approach to atheistic work and increase the personal responsibility of communists, managers, and the elected active membership for eradicating religious manifestations in everyday life, and primarily in their own families. It must persistently introduce new socialist customs and rituals and make broader use of the system of reviews, councils and commissions on improving the Soviet way of life in this work. It must wage an uncompromising struggle against unearned income, bribery, speculation, crime, drunkenness and drug addiction. It must increase the level of ideological provision for socialist competition. It must give unswerving attention to the means of mass information and depend on them more in the struggle against negative occurrences and their consequences and in the organizational work on mobilizing the oblast's workers toward fulfillment of the tasks for the five-year plan.

Agricultural, Energy Production Scored

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] The meeting of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Buro held on 31 January reviewed the note received from the Uzbek SSR Committee on People's Control and sections of the Central Committee regarding the serious shortcomings in the work of the republic's party, soviet and economic management organs on increasing the production and procurement of agricultural products and ensuring their safekeeping during storage and transport.

In the resolution adopted on this question, the Central Committee Buro noted that the republic's party, soviet and economic management organs are inadmissably slow in performing work on significantly increasing the production of food products and improving their supply to the population. They make very poor use of local resources and capacities for this purpose, and often show dependancy. They allow mismanagement in the storage, transport and sale of agricultural products.

The attention of the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom [State Committee for the Agricultural Industry] (comrade S. G. Khorev), the management of Uzbekbrlyash [not further identified] (comrade A. M. Makhmudov), the management of the Central Asian Railroad (comrade N. A. Belogurov) and the Ministry of Motor Transport (comrade A. A. Azimbekov) was focused on the serious shortcomings in work on increasing production and providing for the transport, sale and safekeeping of agricultural products, and on the low demands placed on the managers of subordinate organizations. The Central Committee buro demanded that these organizations bring about state order in this important sector of work.

The party obkoms and the Tashkent party gorkom were directed to review the state of work on the production, procurement and sale of fruit and vegetable products and on the provision for its safekeeping during storage and transport. They were told to hold responsible those officials who had allowed mismanagement and negligence, and to evaluate the activity of all personnel working in this sector according to the specific end results.

The party committees and the primary party organizations of the agroindustrial committees and associations, transport and trade must concentrate their organizational and political work on the overall intensification of production, on increasing the yield from each hectare of agricultural land, and on improving the quality and expanding the assortment of fruit and vegetable production. They must reinforce the teams, brigades and other subdivisions with qualified personnel capable of carrying out production on a current scientific-technical basis. They must take measures for the fastest possible promulgation of leading experience in introducing economic cost accounting and the collective and family order in fruit and vegetable farming. They must explain to the farm workers the great economic benefit obtained from the sale of part of the planned and all of the above-plan fruit and vegetable production at the markets.

[The Buro] particularly noted the need for sharply improving the supply of fruit and vegetable products to the city of Tashkent. In connection with this, provisions were made to review separately in the Central Committee the course of realization of the previously adopted decision on this question.

The Gosagroprom, Mintorg [Ministry of Trade], Uzbekbrlyash, the party committees, the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Council of Ministers and the oblispolkoms and rayispolkoms were told to radically review the attitude toward procurement of fruit and vegetable products for long-term storage in the required volumes, and to improve the organization of trade at the kolkhoz markets on the basis of direct ties according to the "field-store" principle and through the network of company stores, and also to expand the practice of holding trade fairs in the cities and rayon centers.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro reviewed the question of preparing for and staging the 100th anniversary of the birth of Khamza Khakim-zade Niyazi. An anniversary commission was formed whose task it will be to prepare for the measures planned for March of 1989.

The Central Committee Buro reviewed the state of work of the communal services and the republic's energy management under winter conditions. It noted that

certain obispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and the Uzbek SSR Minzhilkomkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services] have been careless in making preparations for the winter season. In December of 1986, over 140 residential houses belonging to local Soviets in the Andizhanskiy, Bukharskiy, Dzhizakskiy and Tashkent Oblasts were not heated. In the city of Mubarek, due to the complacency and negligence exhibited by the management of the Kashkadarya obispolkom and the Mubarek gorispolkom, 4 apartment houses on a new residential block in which 600 people lived and one kindergarten were left without heat from 26 December 1986 through 19 January 1987. In January of the current year, the heat was repeatedly turned off in houses in the cities of Namangan, Bekabad and Nukus because of accidents in the heating networks. On the whole throughout the republic there are over 240 km of heating lines which are in a state of emergency and require immediate replacement.

The rate of breakdowns in the republic's power system is high. The Novoagrenskiy, Syrdarya and Navoyskiy GRES [State Regional Electric Power Station] have not been operating consistently. The Uzbek SSR Minenergo [Ministry of Power and Electrification] does not perform a timely and in-depth analysis of the reasons for the accidents and breakdowns in the operation of the equipment, does not determine the guilty parties, and does not give their actions a principle evaluation. In December of 1986 due to gross violations of the effective standards and regulations of operation of the power installations, there was a fire at the Mubarek TETs [Heat and Power Plant]. As a result, the work of the Mubarek Gas Treatment Plant and Central Heat and Power plant came to a complete standstill.

There is a lack of proper concern at the station regarding the everyday life of the workers. The Minenergo and the "Uzbekgidroenergostroy" Trust have placed questions of housing and social-cultural-domestic facilities construction in the background.

It was noted that the governing board of the Ministry, and Minister M. S. Tashpulatov himself, as well as his deputies, have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the resolutions of the CP Central Committee and the government of the republic on questions of preparing power facilities for operation under winter conditions and have not restructured their work in the spirit of current requirements.

In January of this year there were two accidents along the main gas lines. Due to the low quality of natural gas, there were interruptions in the gas supply to Samarkand oblast. Comrade A. R. Atadzhanyov, chief of the "Soyuzuzbekgazprom" VPO [all-union production association], does not evaluate what has happened in a self-critical manner. This has a negative effect on the state of affairs in the sector.

In the adopted resolution, the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro noted that the UzSSR Minenergo and Minzhilkomkhoz, as well as the "Soyuzuzbekgazprom" VPO have adopted a formal attitude toward the question of preparing power facilities and municipal services for the winter. They have not made timely provision for the performance of work to guarantee the uninterrupted operation of the national economy.

The Central Committee Buro ordered the republic's ministries and departments and the party obkoms and obispolkoms to draw serious conclusions from the emergencies which have occurred and from the interruptions in the operation of the power and municipal management. They must take immediate measures to eliminate the existing shortcomings. They must increase the degree of organization and order in these services, intensify moral training work in the labor collectives, and show greater concern for meeting the needs of the workers in this sphere.

Comrade A. G. Zakaryants, governing board member and chief of the UzSSR Minenergy Main Administration on the Operation of Heat and Power Plants and Heating Networks, was issued a strict reprimand with entry into the work record for the serious shortcomings in managing the operation of heat and power plants and for non-fulfillment of measures to ensure the reliable operation of the Mubarek TeTs.

CPSU member comrade T. A. Akhmedov, UzSSR deputy minister of power and electrification, was issued a strict reprimand for not taking proper measures for staffing the Mubarek TeTs with workers and qualified engineering-technical specialists, for not improving the technical condition of the power equipment, and for not ensuring the fulfillment of measures on preparing the station for operation in the fall-winter period.

UzSSR Minister of Power and Electrification M. S. Tashpulatov was given a reprimand for allowing serious shortcomings in the realization of the resolutions of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee and the UzSSR Council of Ministers, as well as shortcomings in preparing power and gas facilities for operation under winter conditions. VPO "Soyuzzbekgazprom" VPO Chief A. G. Atadzhanov received a warning.

The party buros of Minenergo, Minzhilkomkhoz and VPO "Soyuzzbekgazprom" were ordered to give a most acute and principled evaluation of the system's management workers who showed negligence in implementing the resolutions of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee and the UzSSR Council of Ministers on questions of preparing the national economy for the winter. The Kashkadarya party obkom must review the party responsibility of communists guilty of causing the accident which occurred at the Mubarek TETs.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro meeting also discussed certain other questions and adopted decisions on them.

Consumer Goods, Services Need Improvement

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] At the regular meeting held on 25 February, the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee reviewed the question of the work of the Namanganskiy party obkom on mobilizing the labor collectives toward increasing the production of consumer goods and the volume of consumer services.

It noted that on the whole the state of this work does not meet current requirements. The party obkom and oblispolkom have been unable to ensure fulfillment of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress on radically altering the attitude of the party, soviet and economic management organs to questions of saturating the market with quality goods and services, and have not sufficiently increased the responsibility of managers for meeting the consumer demand.

The integrated program developed in the oblast for improving the production of consumer goods and services is oriented toward the lower limit of the defined tasks and does not consider the capacities of the industrial potential which exists here. The Namanganskiy party gorkom and raykom do not hold accountable those managers of industrial enterprises, trade or consumer services who accept reduced plans.

It was noted that party obkom Secretary Comrade M. M. Rasulov, who has been charged with this sector of the work, has done practically nothing to ensure fulfillment of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee directives on the production of consumer goods. In 1986, 16 out of 78 enterprises did not produce such goods, and a significant portion of the industrial enterprises does not engage in supplying paid services to the public.

The sectorial obkom departments and the party committees of group "A" enterprises do not engage in the development of special shops for the production of consumer items and for the manufacture of current high-quality goods. They are not utilizing their capacities for extensive reconstruction and technical retooling of the enterprises. As before, only 27 percent of the capital investments are directed toward these purposes. The managers of the "Namanganselmash" and "Uychiselmash" Plants tend to avoid the manufacture of technically complex goods, and the managers of the machine building plant--the means of mechanization and automation. Here the output of goods per ruble of the wage fund does not exceed 20 kopeks, yet their actions do not receive proper evaluation on the part of the party obkom.

The rate of commodity goods production is constantly declining in the oblast. Paid services, company store trade, and the sale of high-fashion goods at contract prices are not being developed. One out of every 10 enterprises systematically disrupts the plans for production of goods which are in broad consumer demand. Many are not working as well as they did in past years and are not fulfilling the tasks on labor productivity. Among these are one out of every three consumer services enterprises.

The oblast party organizations do not devote proper attention to the problems of improving the quality of consumer goods. These questions are rarely discussed at party meetings and there is no environment of condemnation and intolerance created around those who produce damaged goods. In 1986, the relative share of products bearing the state Seal of Quality comprised only 9.2 percent. The rejection of fabrics, footwear, furniture, domestic and other goods continues due to their low quality, with such goods totalling up to 818,000 rubles. In the past year, the volume of goods with the index "N" has declined by 28 percent.

It was noted that sewn and tricot goods, silk fabrics, and domestic use items which may be produced locally continue to be imported into the oblast's trade network. Only 2.2 percent of the goods produced by oblmestprom (oblast

administration for local industry] enterprises are made of local raw materials and by-products. Yet the ispolkom of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and First Deputy Chairman Comrade S. G. Metelkin, who is responsible for these questions, reconcile themselves with this state of affairs. They have no clear-cut program for covering losses from the sale of alcoholic beverages and they do not seek out reserves for fulfilling the cash plan.

It was stressed that the oblast's Soviets of People's Deputies do not sufficiently utilize the rights and capacities given to them since the 27th CPSU Congress. Despite the presence of free labor resources in the oblast, the number of persons employed in the home is not increasing, and only two cooperatives have been created for the production of goods and for rendering paid services to the public. The decisions adopted by the Soviet sessions and by the permanent ispolkom commissions on these questions are not substantiated by active organizational work.

New forms of consumer services are slow to be introduced in the oblast. The enterprises in this sphere are not being changed over to a work schedule which would be convenient for the workers. Out of 2,200 studios and shops, only 6 percent of the enterprises operate in 2 shifts, 5 percent operate in 1 1/2 shifts, and only 13 percent of the stores serve consumers in 2 shifts. The capacities for organization of consumer service centers at all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are not being utilized.

The Uzbek SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and a number of republic ministries and departments do not perform active work on developing the production of goods and rendering services and do not help the oblast subordinate enterprises to solve existing problems. Over 3 years ago, the plan outline for reconstruction and technical retooling of the Namanganskiy Furniture Factory was completed. It called for doubling the production output. Yet things are not moving due to the inertness of the Uzbek SSR Minmebelprom [Ministry of the Furniture and Wood Processing Industry]. The Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry, Gosagroprom [State Committee on the Agricultural Industry] and certain others allow a similar attitude to the needs of the oblast's enterprises.

In the resolution adopted on this question, the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro focused the attention of the party obkom buro on the serious shortcomings in the mobilization of the labor collectives toward increasing the production of consumer goods and services to the population, as well as the weak control over the realization of the oblast program on goods and services.

Based on the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it was suggested that the party obkom view the saturation of the market with goods and services and the satisfaction of consumer demand as being the key task in the economic and social policy. It was stressed that underestimating the importance of these problems and lack of initiative in seeking out additional commodity resources and reserves for increasing the volumes of paid services to the population are incompatible with the concepts of restructuring and acceleration.

The Central Committee Buro considered the announcement by obkom party Secretary Comrade M. M. Rasulov and oblispolkom First Deputy Chairman Comrade S. D.

Metelkin regarding the fact that they have taken measures to correct the situation which has arisen. Measures have been developed which provide for increasing the output of non-food products by no less than 1.5 times by the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan, including a 1.4-time increase in light industry, and doubling the production of goods of cultural-domestic and household function. 240 cooperatives will be created in all sectors of the oblast's national economy. Already in the current year, all the oblast's enterprises will begin rendering paid services. Their volume will increase by 7 million rubles, and will increase by 1.8 times by the end of the five-year plan.

The Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Buro stressed that the party and soviet organs bear the entire responsibility for providing the population with goods and services, and primarily by means of the maximal utilization of reserves available locally. In this connection, specific assignments were given to the Namanganskiy party obkom, the oblispolkom, and a number of the republic's ministries and departments.

The Central Committee Buro meeting ratified measures for the realization of proposals and critical commands expressed by the participants of the 4th Plenum of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee.

The Central Committee Buro also reviewed certain other questions and adopted decisions on them.

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UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM ON PROBLEM AREAS

Soviets of Peoples Deputies

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Feb 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The meeting of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 4 February reviewed the question of the work of the republic's local Soviets of People's Deputies on developing organizational work in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress. It was noted that the local Soviets, realizing the tasks set by the party congress, have developed and are implementing measures directed at improving the style and methods of their work and at increasing the level of management of state and social-cultural construction.

Nevertheless, there has not yet been a radical reorganization in the style of work of many Soviets and their subordinate agencies. Real-life organizational work is often replaced with the hubbub of meetings, with the development of various measures, and with the collection of reports and information. Control is weakly implemented over the execution of laws and adopted decisions.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, the oblispolkoms and the Tashgorispolkom [Tashkent city ispolkom] were directed to implement practical measures in 1987 for the radical improvement in the organizational work of the Soviets in accordance with the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. For these purposes, they must closely tie in the work of the Soviets with the tasks of accelerating the development of the economy and the social sphere, implement measures for increasing the role of collegium and elective organs and people's deputies in realizing the tasks facing the Soviets, increase the level and effectiveness of worker control over the activity of the Soviet organs, and strive toward unconditional fulfillment of voter directives. They must show everyday concern for further intensifying democratic endeavors in the work of the Soviets, improve work with the cadres of the Soviet agencies and increase their level of responsibility for the assigned task. They must develop socialist competition for a fitting celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October socialist revolution and ensure unconditional fulfillment of the tasks of the anniversary year and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Based on the speech presented by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Plan-Budget Commission, the question of the work of the republic's Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] on strengthening the discipline of supply and the economy of material resources was reviewed in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress.

It was stressed that the material-technical supply agencies are not satisfactorily reorganizing the style and methods of their operation and are not fulfilling their role in implementing the program of accelerating the republic's socio-economic development. The Congress directives regarding the need for improving the system of material-technical supply and for turning it into a flexible economic mechanism which would help the national economy operate rhythmically and in a stable manner, are being implemented very slowly.

The Presidium ordered the management of the Uzbek SSR Gossnab to implement an in-depth restructuring of the republic's system of material-technical supply, to strengthen supply discipline, and to give particular attention to the introduction of economic methods of regulating economic ties. [The Presidium] suggested implementing a set of measures directed at the broad application of the positive experience in supply organization, the development of direct and long-term economic ties between suppliers and consumers, [the development] of wholesale trade and guaranteed comprehensive provision of customers, and the supply of consumer services on pre-production of materials and rental of equipment, instruments and technical means. The Gossnab collegium [governing board] was ordered to radically improve its work on personnel selection and training, and to establish proper state order in all subdivisions, totally excluding any manifestations of burocratism, red tape, or favoritism which might undermine supply discipline.

Appropriate orders have been issued to the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and the ispolkoms of oblast Soviets of People's Deputies.

The meeting also reviewed the course of fulfillment of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution adopted according to the results of investigations into complaints received from boarding houses.

It was noted that the Council of Ministers of Kara-Kalpak ASSR, the obispolkoms and a number of ministries and departments have underestimated the importance and acuteness of the social problem raised in this resolution, and have not taken exhaustive measures for its fulfillment. They were told to take measures for continued improvement of services to the aged and invalids and for decisively eliminating all the shortcomings in this crucial matter. It was deemed necessary to give special attention to improving medical aid and organization of rational and quality dining in boarding houses, to developing new forms of services convenient for the aged and invalids, to creating proper conditions for their rest and recreation, and to developing a material base for boarding houses. The Soviets of People's Deputies and their agencies must review these questions as an important factor in realizing the social policy of the party.

Other questions dealing with the republic's state life were also reviewed at the meeting, and the appropriate decisions on them were adopted.

Poor Preparation for Marking GOSR

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Feb 87 p 2

[Unattributed Report: "In the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The meeting of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 26 February reviewed the question of the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the city of Tashkent on mobilizing the workers for a suitable celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October.

The Presidium noted that the Soviets of People's Deputies in the republic capital and their executive organs, guided by the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, are taking measures toward mobilizing the workers for a suitable celebration of this momentous date. They have improved the management of the economy and the social sphere, are developing the creative initiative of the masses, and are intensifying work among the labor collectives and at the place of residence of the population. The preparations for a suitable celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October are being reflected in the high socialist responsibilities of the collectives and individual workers.

At the same time it was noted that the capacities for mobilizing the workers toward a fitting celebration of the anniversary of the Great October are still not being fully utilized. The Tashgorsoviet [Tashkent City Council] and the raysovet ispolkoms are weakly coordinating their activities with the trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations for widespread development of socialist competition and for stepping up the human factor. They are devoting little attention to the promulgation of leading experience and to ensuring openness. They have not really mobilized the efforts of the deputies and all of society toward fulfilling the state plans and responsibilities for 1987.

As a result of the formal organization of competition and a low degree of exactingness on the part of the Soviets toward economic managers, the city's industry has not fulfilled the January plan for the realization of products with consideration for the promised deliveries. One out of every four enterprises has not fulfilled this plan. Consumers have been shorted a sum of 8.4 million rubles worth of products. The planned growth in labor productivity and increase in manufacture of commodity goods has not been reached. A number of rayispolkoms have not ensured the fulfillment of their tasks on the production of consumer goods. The city's building organizations are working below their capacities. As before, there are many worker complaints about the operation of the trade, consumer and communal services, and transport enterprises.

The Presidium has directed the Tashgorsoviet and its ispolkom to significantly intensify the organizational and mass-political work of the rayon Soviets, departments and administrations and to take effective measures for restructuring work, eliminating shortcomings in the management of the city's socio-economic development, and organizing the pre-anniversary socialist competition for a suitable greeting of the 70th anniversary of the Great October.

[The Presidium] reviewed a note from the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Public Education regarding the work of the republic's Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] on organizing cinema services for the public. The Presidium noted that there are serious shortcomings in this exceptionally important sphere of cultural life. The underestimation of the huge educational role of Soviet cinema art, the commercial approach to cinematography, the unsatisfactory use of state funds directed at expanding the network of movie theatres, and the neglect of advertisement work have led to a significant reduction in the attendance at movie theatres, failure to carry out the orders of directive agencies on the organization of cinema services for children and youth, and gross violations of the repertoire policy to the detriment of the best domestic films. There are still cases of illegal use and direct misappropriations of state funds within the republic's Goskino system.

It was stressed that the noted shortcomings have to a significant degree been determined by miscalculations in personnel work. Many institutions in the cinema circuit are headed by incompetent workers who do not have proper training, artistic taste, and political sense. The local Soviets of People's Deputies also mismanage repertoire policy and do not show concern for strengthening the material-technical base and training of the cadres within the cinema circuit system. At the present time, there are no regularly organized film showings in 5,500 of the republic's populated areas, including 32 rayon centers.

The Presidium found the work of the Uzbek SSR Goskino (comrade A. A. Turayev) on organizing cinema services for the public to be unsatisfactory and demanded that Goskino and its subordinate agencies implement a radical restructuring of their activity and ensure the maximal utilization of the capacities of cinema art in the interests of the communist upbringing of the masses. Appropriate directives were issued to the republic's ministries and departments.

The Presidium reviewed the question of establishing on an annual basis a two-month forest and garden period in the Uzbek SSR for purposes of broadly expanding work on planting greenery in the republic, establishing forest belts, afforestation of deserts, planting orchards, and beautifying cities and other population centers. The resolution on this question will be published in the press.

The meeting also reviewed other questions relating to state life in the republic and adopted appropriate resolutions.

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

UZBEK COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SCORES POOR ECONOMIC WORK

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Feb 87 p 1

[UzTAG report: "In the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A meeting of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers was held on 3 February. At this meeting, the results of fulfillment of the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Uzbek SSR and the republic State Budget for 1986 and January 1987 were reviewed, and the tasks for fulfillment of the plan for the second year of the 12th Five-Year Plan were discussed.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers noted that the workers of the republic, as well as all the Soviet people, have given hearty approval to the decisions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum on ensuring the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development on the basis of radical restructuring of the personnel policy and continued development of democracy.

The work performed in the republic on realizing the strategic course outlined by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress has made it possible in the first year of the 12th Five-Year Plan to achieve definite positive results. The growth in volume of industrial production comprised 5.8 percent, with an envisioned 4.8 percent. The labor productivity increased by 3.5 percent. There has been certain improvement in the development of livestock raising and in the production of vegetables, potatoes and grapes. The program of social development has been implemented in a planned manner.

Nevertheless, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers believes that the results achieved still do not meet the requirements set forth by the party at the current stage.

The ministries, departments and ispolkoms of local republic soviets are taking insufficient measures for strengthening state and plan discipline, for the fastest possible introduction of reserves for growth in labor productivity, for improving the quality of products, and for strengthening the regimen of economy. As a result, 131 enterprises did not meet the plan for realization in 1986, while 234 reduced their production volumes as compared with the preceding year. During the course of the entire year, there was no systematic fulfillment of the plan for realization of products with consideration for deliveries. One out of every three enterprises did not meet their responsibilities to related enterprises. Due to the low rate of technical retooling

of production, 264 enterprises did not meet their plan for growth in labor productivity, and the portion of increase in industrial production due to this factor decreased as compared with 1985. As before, high productivity equipment is not being utilized effectively enough. Due to the lack of attention to improving product quality, the number of products bearing the state Seal of Quality decreased by 40 varieties as compared with the previous year, and their relative share in the overall volume of production comprised only 10 percent. Of 225 vital types of products, the plan was underfulfilled on 86 of them. There were 239 enterprises which did not meet the plan for output of consumer goods, failing to supply 182 million rubles worth of goods. The underestimation of the role of scientific-technical progress in development of the economy by the republic's ministry and department heads has led to the undermining of plans for the introduction of new technology.

The restructuring within the system of the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom is proceeding slowly. Over half of the cotton growing rayons have not met the plan for procurement of raw cotton. The unsatisfactory application of technology in harvesting the crop has led to an increase in the production cost of raw cotton. The plan for procurement of grain curcurbits, fruits and berries, and grapes has not been fulfilled in the republic. The tasks on procurement of fruit and vegetable products for winter storage have not been met. There are many shortcomings in livestock raising, and especially in the organization of winter grazing of cattle.

General use motor transport operated unsatisfactorily in the past year. The plan for cargo shipments was not met. In a number of oblasts, the buses on city routes did not run on a regular schedule. There has been no radical breakthrough in capital construction. The task for operational introduction of fixed capital has been only 77 percent realized. There are serious shortcomings in trade and consumer services to the public. The meeting of the Council of Ministers also pointed out the unsatisfactory financial state of many of the republic's ministries and departments.

At the meeting, a number of republic ministry and department heads were subjected to sharp criticism for allowing serious omissions and miscalculations in the work. The attention of the Uzbek SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] (A. B. Matveyev) and the Uzbek SSR Minfin [Ministry of Finance] (I. I. Mamatisayev) was focused on their slow introduction of economic methods of management in the sectors of the national economy. The Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom [State Committee on Agricultural Industry] (V. I. Antonov, I. K. Kurbanov) was directed to take exhaustive measures for improving the financial state within the system of the agroindustrial complex and for ensuring the fastest possible introduction of the family order. The need for radical improvement in trade services provided to the republic's population was pointed out to Uzbek SSR Minister of Trade M. Kh. Khasanov. Uzbek SSR Goskomvodstroy [State Committee for Water Resources Construction] Chairman T. B. Baymirov was directed to decisively eliminate the existing shortcomings, utilize more fully the internal reserves, and strive toward generally intensifying the regimen of economy and thrift.

There have also been no notable changes for the better in the republic's economy in January of the current year. At many enterprises the rate of production has decreased, and some of them have found themselves unprepared for

work under conditions of state acceptance. Many enterprises of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry (G. G. Isayev) are operating significantly below their capacity. In many oblasts, work is unsatisfactory in preparing for spring field work, the readiness of agricultural technology is low, and the times for land reclamation work are dragged out.

The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers directed the ministries, departments and Council of Ministers of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and the obispolkoms and Tashgorispolkom [Tashkent city ispolkom] to utilize the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the tasks presented at the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in comprehensively and critically analyzing the results of the financial-economic activity of their subordinate enterprises and organizations for 1986 and for January of the current year, and to take immediate measures for correcting the existing shortcomings and making up the lag which has been allowed in the sectors of the republic's national economy.

Taking into consideration the current cadre policy of the CPSU, we must accelerate the restructuring of the style, form and methods of operation of the ministries, departments and ispolkoms of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and increase the role and responsibility of all managers of administrative organs, their apparatus, and the labor collectives for accelerating socio-economic development and for successfully fulfilling the plans for 1987 and the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole, as well as for a suitable celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October.

We must ensure a unified front in the struggle for acceleration in all sectors of the national economic complex. We must restore and develop the Leninist principles of democratic centralism and ensure the general introduction of economic methods of management and the changeover of all sectors of the economy to full cost accounting. Restructuring requires a decisive turn toward science. Economic managers must radically improve the work on reconstruction and modernization of the fixed production capital and on the effective application of high productivity equipment and the changeover to a two- and three-shift work regimen. Also, they must constantly give practical aid to the state acceptance agencies.

The meeting focused attention on measures for intensifying the regimen of economy of materials and electrical energy and on the preparations for the upcoming spring planting campaign. A complex of measures was outlined which is directed at eliminating the shortcomings in agriculture, capital construction, trade and consumer services. The Uzbek SSR Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] (M. Kh. Khasanov) and Uzbekbrlyash [not further identified] (A. M. Makhmudov) were directed to thoroughly investigate and render aid in improving the organization of trade and provision of consumer goods to the population in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and other regions of the republic.

Uzbekistan CP Central Committee First Secretary I. B. Usmankhodzhayev spoke at the meeting of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman R. N. Nishanov, Uzbekistan CP Central Committee Second Secretary V. P. Anishchev, and Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman A. P. Romanovskiy participated in the work of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

OGONEK EDITOR BERATES PROVINCIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD REFORMS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by Vitaliy Korotich, under the rubric "The Writer and the Times": "Responsibility for Word and Deed"]

[Text] A contributor to our journal came up to me and asked whether, if our number of subscribers increased, increasing the profits we produced as a socialist enterprise, would our wages be increased as well? I answered that it was an interesting question, but the main thing was that the journal should foster moral restructuring and moral incentives were not at issue.

Then the contributor asked me if we were now absolutely obliged to praise those who rushed to restructure, delivering what is required in the winking of an eye, and renouncing what they had written yesterday and the day before. No, indeed, how can we take satisfaction in ideological restructuring which is accompanied by overzealous and not always sincere haste?

Today, when we are living openly and responsibly, as we haven't lived in a long while, the weight and significance of words and deeds have increased immeasurably. We are [now operating] in full sight of each other, indeed, in full sight of all of humanity, and at such a time it is shameful to engage in idle talk and futile deeds. This has always been shameful, but today, when we are showing the world an example of democratic spirit and social responsibility, the value of words and deeds is particularly high.

The hero of our time, and a very worthy hero he is, is taking shape through deeds, struggle, and labor. In our times, openness, and frankness refer not only to one's own ability and desire to express oneself, but also the capacity to listen carefully to one's opponents' opinions, without fear and, thus, without interrupting. And it is not acceptable for the truth to be replaced by all sorts of "notions," which are then justified in speeches with numerous high-sounding arguments.

Democracy for some people is embodied in the well-developed ability to complain at every opportunity to higher authorities and to demand that every spot of dirt on the uniform of the authorities be transferred to the uniform of the press. In my work for OGONEK, several times I have encountered a situation where this kind of influential complainant communicates with the

editors, but has not considered it necessary before calling the journal to demean himself by tracking down the necessary proofs. It is lucky that he has subordinates (who must love doing such "busy work") to chase down the required answer, printed in the back of the math book.

It is true that the party has recently proven more than once that "forcible repression" no longer has all-powerful effects on democracy. However, unfortunately, it is still around. Restructuring is occurring and all the lifegiving forces of society have been activated, but ideologically blatant, formal brush-offs have not become extinct, nor has "noble" grief for the good old days when we didn't have hooligan drug addicts, colliding trains, nor sinking ships and when even disabled veterans could be counted on the fingers of one hand. But from time to time, administrators are overwhelmed with the unquenchable desire to punish the physician who has made the diagnosis rather than working on a cure for the disease; or, when a fire is discovered, to concentrate on the alarm bell, instead of quenching the flames.

We must be strictly accountable for our own words; this is the party way. But it is not acceptable to allow speaking the truth to become unprofitable, dangerous, or cause for fear.

There is no question that changing your opinion is sometimes absolutely essential, but you must retain your dignity and not emulate a creaking weather vane on the roof, pointing any way the wind blows. How many shared problems we writers and journalists have in this area! Indeed, I would propose the planning of a joint plenary session of the Writers and Journalists Unions to discuss responsibility for our own words, spoken or written, and the importance of writers and journalists doing their duty during this time of restructuring, this revolutionary period in fate of our nation. With regard to our so-called united plenary sessions, we have already become thoroughly accustomed to the fact that the more united they are, the more useless, bombastic, and high-flown. And yet we, those who write, have so many common issues to discuss!

Unfortunately, we sometimes forget about this writers think of journalism as some sort of literature done in haste, while journalists perceive writers only as the potential authors of high-flown commemorative pieces for anniversary issues, which contains 16 times as many exclamation points as problems.

We need to become thoroughly accustomed to the sensation of being shoulder to shoulder with our comrades, to the sensation of shared goals. We need to learn to live and work under democratic conditions, to get used to the fact that the press is not merely a spot remover from official uniforms. Even in the name of high principles, the press does not have the right to demean itself by not telling the truth.

One would think that some officials have been inoculated against democracy and have thus developed an aversion to it for all time. It would seem to be very simple: a person who has nothing in common with propaganda as it has currently been tasked, should not have anything to do with the propaganda. Do you think it is this simple?

Not at all; they whisper now to one, now to another of us, that anything can happen in life, and there's no sense in jumping headlong into the current restructuring; it is better to wait and see...

Such actions are inimical to socialism. More than once we have made trouble for ourselves when we have decided to be cunning, and to abbreviate the truth, to replace it with various types of "notions." And this turns out to be unforgivable even in defense of areas where we are unquestionably ahead, including discussions of human rights.

In October of 1917 the bolsheviks won because, among other reasons, they told the people more of the truth and told it more resolutely than any of the other parties in Russia. But to tell the truth is to take on responsibility for the results of our words. Truth is the weapon of responsible politicians. Cowards sink into lies. Love, creation, and truth are much more complex and require a great deal more talent than lies, destruction, and hate.

For just this reason we must insist on the authority of our spirituality, and not permit it to be eroded. We must not allow the windbags to get involved in either internal or external disputes about it. We will learn to live under conditions of democracy: this is a very rigorous life, with standards that must be defended.

Here too we must seek the spirit of unification: our professional and international consciousness of belonging to a single family, where each person is an individual and lives in the spirit of Soviet brotherhood. This is something more than the vagrancy of living only on common ground, or the homelessness in which a man has neither a house, nor a street, but only the address Soviet Union, like an undifferentiated, legendless school map. One of the greatest concepts of all, patriotism, cannot be reduced to high-sounding common grounds. Additionally, this would be a crime against those who have stood up for our time. The young poet who perished in the battle of Stalingrad, Mikhail Kulchitskiy, dreaming of our victorious time, wrote, "By decree of the Sovnarkom, we forbid the writing of talentless verses about the Fatherland!" Talentless articles, essays, and books must also be forbidden today, since each of them is like a crack in the foundation of the house we are erecting together.

Today we are accomplishing what millions of our predecessors talked, argued and dreamed about: the lesson of party daring has matured through the struggle and creativity of generations. The revolutionary changes which are occurring today represent an uprising against the low spiritual and creative ceilings in the provincial areas of our country, against the myth that some words can be pronounced exclusively from the tribunals of Moscow, and then only within a radius of 5 or 6 kilometers. One gets the impression that some of our theoreticians have revised the Marxist thesis of the possibility of the victory of socialism so it applies to only a single, individual country. They keep trying to prove that openness, frankness, and restructuring are possible only in certain individual oblasts of the USSR, those that are central, while in the other oblasts, they imply, people should live as before, in the old way, with openness suppressed.

No, restructuring is a process which must occur throughout the entire Soviet Union, in the same way as national industrialization and the campaign against illiteracy fought by all our fathers and grandfathers. It is a matter of honor for each of us that no more enclaves of the old way of thinking remain, no more mouldering centers of resistance to restructuring.

We must always retain a clear feeling of reality and responsibility. This is precisely what the Party Central Committee has called for in its Address to the Soviet People. We are responsible for everything, for peace and life on our planet and we are fighting for the future in the open. We are responsible for the fate of the October Revolution, for the fate of socialism. There is not and has never been any higher responsibility; may we be equal to it!

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CSO: 1800/440

INFLUENCE OF REHABILITATED POETS IS MARGINAL, CLAIMS CRITIC

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Mar 87 p 3

[Article signed "A Reviewer" under the rubric "Critical Diary": "The Times Require an Epic; Poetry in the Journals: Between the Past and the Future"]

[Text] We have already cited Saltykov-Shchedrin's remarks on belated literature on one of our critical diary pages. Today we will return to these words (this time, the term only), because the most significant, and to our mind, most serious works published in the poetry sections of the latest issues of our literary monthlies come from the unpublished works of writers from our literary past. Of course, I am talking about Aleksandr Tvardovskiy's long poem "By right of memory" (NOVYY MIR, No 3, 1987) and the large selection, almost a whole book, of the poetry of Olga Berggolts (ZNAMYA, No 3, 1987). Both of these require thoughtful reading, serious thought, and thorough discussion, and these will undoubtedly occur after the requisite short pause for the critics to interpret the works and the printed media to publish their articles.

Not long ago LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA wrote about Aleksandr Tvardovskiy's long poem published in the second number of ZNAMYA. We believe that the version published in NOVYY MIR is qualitatively different from the previous one and, thus, warrants separate discussion; (since today's diary is exclusively devoted to poetry, we will not talk about A. Tvardovskiy's prose work "Sketches for an Unsuccessful Story" published right before his long poem). It is probably a good idea, in so far as is possible, to do as NOVYY MIR did and present readers with works from the great Russian writers of the past accompanied by an introductory article, commentaries, variants, etc. This demonstrates the level of culture not only of the publication, but of the reader to whom the publication is directed as well.

From the newly published material, the reader not only learns much he didn't know before (sketches, new chapters, fragments), but also gains information which help him to see another dimension of the work (for example, the fact that work on the long poem began not in 1966, but in December 1963).

Having noted the publication of the long poem in ZNAMYA, the editors of NOVYY MIR, cite as one of the reasons for returning to this work the fact that it "is of serious literary and social interest." We fully concur with this conclusion -- works like this one are few and far between, no matter how often

they are reprinted. Furthermore, this long poem offers a broad perspective on the present since it influences social consciousness, provokes thought, and fosters a critical attitude toward events of the recent past and thoughtful attention to the events of the present.

It was no accident that at the beginning of today's article, we juxtaposed two works, A. Tvardovskiy's long poem and O. Berggolts' poetry, since these works complement each other. The problems of memory, duty, and conscience are themes found in Tvardovskiy, as well as in O. Berggolts' poems, "Could it really have happened, at the barred window, outdoors? I almost forgot but my heart hasn't forgotten the humiliation and terror"; "To lie and tremble every minute. Lie and tremble; but what if suddenly I don't tell the right lie?" "But now I do not writhe in shame only because I know that this is behind me." The dates these lines were written are reliable and accurate keys, opening the way to full understanding of 1939, 1949, and the 1960 to 1970. Not dates, but landmarks, behind which lies the tragedy of fate. V. Lakshin discusses this and many other issues in his article on Olga Berggolts published in this number. His article casts light on many poetic lines and on the story of their creation, and creates a living and disturbing image of the author of "Day Stars."

A great writer is a thinker, and a philosopher; he is always troubled by the problem of truth. Recall N. Dobrolyubov's "Talent is a feeling for truth" or M. Gorkiy's "Literature is great work by virtue of its truth." This is why we cherish the works of A. Tvardovskiy and O. Berggolts, for their truth about themselves and the times. And therefore about us as well. And this is a great matter -- to know the truth about yourself. Not everyone is capable of speaking it, or hearing it.

"From our [literary] heritage," or "from the unpublished work" means from the past. But if such work is interesting to us today, if we await such publications with impatience, and then, reluctant to put down the journal, reread them, then they are contemporary, and therefore necessary. They are necessary because they tell the truth about what is the past to us but was the present for the authors. And undoubtedly the future will demand an account from us, the people of today. They will look into the drawers of our desks in order to understand what we were like, how we lived, with whom and in the name of what we fought.

Will they find an answer?

The February and March issues of our literary journals contain a whole constellation of poetic names; A. Tvardovskiy and O. Berggolts, as we have already mentioned; and in addition, Boris Slutskiy and Gleb Gorbovskiy in NEVA (No 2, 1987), Georgiy Ivanov, Fedor Sukhov and Bella Akhmadulina in ZNAMYA (No 3, 1987), Yevgeniy Yevtushenko in AVRORA (No 2, 1987), Vladislav Khodacevich in DRUZHBA NARODOV (No 2, 1987), Gennadiy Serebryakov in MOLODAYA GVARDIYA (No 2, 1987). One would be justified in saying that there was something here to look at. Indeed, one might even say that one wouldn't know what to look at next.

But now the journals are read and placed in two piles: some are set aside so the other sections can be read later; others because we want to return again to the poetry section. And it turns out that the second pile, as a rule, is composed of issues which contain material "From the unpublished works." One feels that this is not a matter of fame alone. Of course, G. Ivanov and V. Khodasevich will be read; this is facilitated by the introductory notes speaking of the tragic spirit of their works and the personal tragedies of these poets and about how little we know of them -- one wants to fill in the gaps. But nevertheless, in our view, their influence on today's reader is weaker than that of contemporary poets who understand the urgent problems known to both sides the poet, as well as the reader.

This is not just a matter of famous names, after all Ye. Yevtushenko and B. Akhmadulina are also great names and their popularity is even greater than the relative fame of G. Ivanov. But after reading the poetry published in the latest issues it all becomes clear: the poets have added almost nothing new to their work. Of course, Yevtushenko's "Everyone Should Be Great, It is Shameful Not to Be!" is contemporary even now, but it is already well-known and familiar, as is "Knights of Inertia," included in the same selection. (One cannot help but feel that the dates these works were written should have been included here -- for example, the poem "Knights of Inertia" was written in 1956, i.e., before the average reader of AVRORA was born). Yes, they are topical and vital even now, but reading the latest published articles by Ye. Yevtushenko we see that today too his thinking is keen, bold, charming and passionate. Perhaps it will soon be embodied in a new poetic form, and this will be a joy and the usual discovery for the reader. But, in the meantime, AVRORA's desire to reprint poems from 30-year-old books is not completely clear to us.

B. Akhmadulina's "Cherry Tree on a White Night," of course, reminds us once again of the author of this poem, and allows us to enjoy the subtle intricate embroidery of associations, symbols, and phrases, but no more than that. The poem does not demand new, fresh, or deep thought from its reader; it could have been written 5 years ago or 15; before Akhmadulina's "Candles" or after it; it's as if time has passed this poem by.

Of course, each poet is an individual and works in his own tradition, on his own themes; indeed he is interesting because of his very uniqueness, his recognizable individuality. However, the reader always expects thoughts on the painful issues of the day from a poet he loves and trusts and whose work he avidly follows.

Here we feel it is appropriate to cite a journal entry written by Aleksandr Yashin in August of 1942. "Living poems are those in which you sense the beating of a living heart, which contain the feeling, the unique, fierce perception of the threat of impending events, and the poet's "own living word, his own individual cry."

This thought is fully applicable to today and to the tasks facing today's poetry. The truth, which has now become the real heroine of life and art, demands incarnation in the artistic word. Here we even feel like saying that the truth demands an epic, one similar in scope and passion to Tvardovskiy's

epic. But let us be realistic. Time and effort are required to create such a work. For the time being, if we speak of long poems, then among those published in the latest issues of our journals, only "Return to the Bylina" by Gennadiy Serebryakov (MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, No 2, 1987) is worthy of note. In recent years many long poems have been published, giving the impression that nearly every member of the poet's workshop has considered it his duty to put a long poem before the reader. But what has remained in memory? A few titles.

Many years ago in a similar context L. Anninskiy exclaimed, "There are many good verses, but not a single poet!" This statement was one reason for the A. Lanchchikov's answering article disputing this position in 1970. We are aware that our ideas too can be disputed, but nevertheless we contend that there have been many long poems in recent years, but not a single Epic. An Epic, with a capital E, is what is needed. There are a number of reasons for this and almost all of them relate to the social order, and social characteristics. The stagnation of the recent past, the fatigue of social thinking could not avoid being reflected in literature, and in long poetry in particular. However, now much has changed, [our new] life, its rhythm, its richness could not help but appeal to a poet. In his "Autobiography," Aleksandr Tvardovskiy wrote in reference to "The Country of Muravii":

"The fact that I carried in my soul what I had personally observed and wrested from life urged me on to new work, new creative efforts. It seemed to me at that time that what I knew of life, I knew better, in more detail, and more reliably than anyone on earth, and I had a duty to tell it. To this day I consider such a feeling not only legitimate, but necessary in the realization of every serious design."

Now, in the second half of the 80s, our country is undergoing truly historic, revolutionary transformations, which we are not only witnessing, but participating in. Our knowledge of these events is "better, more detailed, and reliable than that of anyone" living in the future; even as few as 10 years from now will still be the future, and much will have already been accomplished with only the results visible. But we are participants in the process and it is we who have the responsibility of recording these events and interpreting them. Just as now, when we read of Korchagin, we vividly picture his epoch, in the same way an epic poem created now should reflect our days.

But this is more like a dream of the future than a discussion of the present, although dreams of the future are also, in our opinion, an important matter and one which is not without its uses for the future itself.

Surveying the poetry in our journals, one cannot help but notice the "Neva" poems -- our second issue contains selections of poems by B. Slutskiy and G. Gorbovskiy, and these seem in some way to be interrelated, with one casting light on the other. Probably, what creates this kinship is that both sets of poems contain attempts to understand and explain the movement of the human spirit in a complex time, a time when man is breaking with much, leaving much behind him and at the same time can only ponder what in actuality the future, which depends on him, will be like.

Declaiming that people should spend "the whole week at work which is truly work, their great work," B. Slutskiy pondered the fact that life contains something eternal, constant as well as the transient and the temporary. Here is the poem "Wallpaper" about the out-of-date news in a newspaper which has been used for wallpaper or, as the poet says "which has gone to serve daily life without having turned into real life." You read this from his "Unpublished Works" and see that the poet was concerned with the same things as we are today, the struggle for the real truth and for its affirmation on earth, and in man so that "the ears of the world grow accustomed to it and the eyes of the world grow tired and past truths no longer attract with their comfort."

"Past truths"... An unexpected but highly understandable combination of words. One must never forget the past, if only because what you believed yesterday turns out to be mistaken today. If you do, won't you also forget today tomorrow? But there is a painful process of honest acknowledgement of one's mistakes to oneself and the cleansing endeavor to live in a new way, and thus to fight with the old, its heritage, its relics, its followers. This is precisely the subject of G. Gorbovskiy's poem about those "Jesuits of Phrases" who instead of taking the trouble and anxiety of the times to their hearts "rhyme the imperishable without hurrying," "and conjure about something.. somehow." So it happens that "What is needed is protests against heartlessness, arrogance, evil, but what they create are tests and gestures which are neither here nor there .. They orate over the ashes with the assonance of crows.. when they should be speaking of Truth and her warriors."

The time awaits its heralds who will be, as they must be, both thinkers and revolutionaries. Alas, in our literary monthlies we do not, as often as we would like, encounter poetry which would pass today's news through the tempering of emotion. But the standard has been set. It is high, associated with the names of the great Soviet poets. Thus, we will read the next issues of our journals with attention. The truth demands incarnation in the poetic word.

9285
CSO: 1800/440

NEW 'GRAYNESS' IN LITERATURE TERMED 'ULTRACRITICAL'

PM091541 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jun 87 p 2

[Yuriy Idashkin article under the rubric "Ideology, Politics, Culture": "Time of Responsibility. Reflections Following the Plenum of the USSR Union of Writers Board"]

[Text] One of the plenum's participants said to me in some amazement: "I was late for the morning session on the second day and, imagine, I was barely able to find an unoccupied seat...!"

And the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA issue which consisted almost entirely of an account of the plenum was almost a best-seller....

I remember plenums of some 4 or 5 years ago, with the chairmen's plaintive calls not to leave the half-empty hall during the speeches, and the pages of that same LITERATURKA [familiar diminutive name for LITERATURNAYA GAZETA]—containing incomparably shorter plenum reports--flicked through with indifference.

Yes, a great deal has changed. And these external signs of change reflect, of course, the intensity, the complexity, and the multiplicity of the processes occurring in our literature today.

It is no secret--and Larisa Vasilyeva spoke about this in particular at the plenum--that readers understand by no means everything about these processes. Indeed, the suddenly displayed dissonance of views and judgments, the passionate, even frenzied pitch of the speeches, the irreconcilability of positions--all this generates some perplexity and confusion of feelings. And how: For the first time in half a century the word "schism" ["raskol"] has made itself heard! And although all those who pronounce it urge us to avoid this danger, they do in fact name it....

It is very necessary to think calmly: What has happened?

Has the restructuring now getting under way really given rise to irreconcilable differences in the literary milieu?

Certainly not! Writers also had different opinions and evaluations, different viewpoints and positions before. Only they could not find an outlet in the formal decorum of previous writers' forums, forcing their way onto the pages of individual journal and newspaper issues rarely and not always in an intelligible form. With its policy of openness and democracy restructuring has inevitably created the conditions for free discussion. But the fact that the long overdue requirement is at times being satisfied with inordinate greed and haste is probably the natural result of protracted artificial restraint.

For many years we aspired to--and were oriented toward--tranquillity and grandeur both in the pages of books and in literary life. The unnaturalness of such a pattern resulted in the compression of the literary body's internal spring. Now the spring has uncoiled itself. But do we have the right to remain silent about the costs of this--indubitably--inspiring phenomenon?

Among the sensible, sincere, convincingly argued articles and platform speeches there appear from time to time those wherein it is a question not so much of literature as of, unfortunately, some other, concomitant business which is not literature proper. From time to time we have to hear that it is not worth being either surprised or indignant at this, for in 19th century literature such a thing had not yet happened, and the polemic which almost violates the proprieties and is transferred to individuals is, they say, in the literary tradition. But whatever you say: True, it was not like this. Is it only for us Soviet litterateurs to endeavor to follow such models? While bowing low before the chefs d'oeuvre created by the literature of critical realism, it is quite unnecessary to make a fetish of the vulgar morals of prerevolutionary journal squabbling. And is it not blasphemous, while showering an opponent with stupid and crude reproaches, to trace out his genealogy from Belinsky and Dobrolyubov...?

However, it does also happen that the reaction to just one word overshadows, as it were, the sense of everything that has been said.

Speaking at the plenum, A. Voznesenskiy pounced with particular emotion on the word "necrophilia" used in an article by Pyotr Proskurin. This word provoked indignation with us all on the part of the highly respected devotee of our native culture, D.S. Likhachev. I think that Proskurin himself now regrets this word, which came in a polemical outburst. But, we will agree, behind this unfortunate word lies a real phenomenon evoking definite alarm.

It is wonderful that works which were illegally and malignantly withdrawn from the literary process have been and are continuing to be restored to the reader. Also understandable is that broad interest--which, unfortunately, descends in part into mere hullabaloo--aroused by the relevant issues of various journals. Their chief editors talk about the forthcoming competition between press publications. Will this competition really be confined to emulation in the sphere of archive research and to the allocation of "spheres of influence" in the commissions on the literary legacy of those writers who have departed this life...?

For sure, annual thematic plans can and must all the same specifically resolve the questions of whether to print forgotten works in journals also or only in book form, and what the relationship must be between these works and those about contemporary life. But precisely what works and what authors to restore to the reader--this is a fundamental question of world outlook; and Boris Oleynik spoke very correctly about this at the plenum. For the return to literature of a number of literary names--which, I repeat, is an absolutely natural and long-awaited phenomenon--is not being backed up by the appearance of genuinely scientific commentaries, not to mention more solid works. As a result the opinion is beginning to circulate both in certain literary and even in readership circles that--it is claimed--in terms of the degree of talent and the artistic expressiveness of their work artists who did not welcome the revolution or did not work actively for its good surpassed those who joined the ranks of those fighting to build the new society. And it is no coincidence that so much was said at the plenum not only about literary criticism but also about literary studies both in V. Karpov's report and in the debates.

The party is most definitely pointing out the social sciences' intolerable laggardness behind the requirements of life and even behind practice. This fully applies to both literary studies and to criticism. There is no denying that none of us is satisfied with the degree of elaboration of the theory of socialist realism. Indeed, for years and decades we have repeated in all manner of ways a handful of formulas learned by rote at some time, having eventually undermined our own faith in the possibility of the fruitfulness of our literary science's influence on practice. Gradually and almost imperceptibly the term "socialist realism" itself began to disappear from literary usage. And our task is not, of course, to reiterate it more frequently.

V. Karpov is indisputably right: Certainly the time has come to take a close look at the activity of the Gorkiy Institute of World Literature, which, it appears, is not equal to its role as the theoretical flagship of our literature. And indeed, is it capable of fulfilling this role totally unaided? Is it not time to ask the question about creating an academic institute of Soviet literature which would actively, without restraint, and in the spirit of the time pursue the profound theoretical elaboration of the unique experience of Soviet socialist literature--the world's first--widely enlisting in this work not only literary specialists but also the most talented critics?

The disappearance from our literary science of profound, genuinely original works which take into account world literary practice and which at the same time are striking in form and accessible not only to a narrow circle of specialists, and which would analyze the categories of talent, artistic merit, and artistic form as the first principles of literature, the nature of the creative process, and so on by the experience of Soviet literature taken in its widest context--including works of the twenties and the thirties--has created a medium for the broad propagation of the "problem-thematic" approach to literature. But this is precisely the main "theoretical" bastion of a gray literature.

It seems that without a radical improvement in the world-outlook, theoretical foundation we will not be able to lift current criticism to the level of modern ideo-aesthetic requirements, which means we will not be able to inflict a final defeat on gray literature.

And this latter is quite a dangerous weapon in the hands of the opponents of the purifying renewal now under way in society. It is devaluing sacred ideas and concepts on a massive scale, sowing the seeds of lies and falsehood, and passing off wishes for reality by generating lack of faith. It is substituting jingoism for true patriotism, narrow-minded nationalism for national pride, and the poison of nihilism and negation of everything for civic indignation. It is reducing high communist criteria to the level of antiquated morals and to frankly petty worldly "wisdom." Finally, it is hopelessly spoiling the aesthetic taste of the mass reader, especially the young reader, by deterring him from grasping the complexity of true literature which opens the doors to the complexity of true knowledge, the sensing of genuine beauty, and in exchange palms him off with sham substitutes for literature which corrupt by their cheap frivolity....

Returning in our thoughts to the plenum hall, recalling the heat of polemic burning from the first speech to the last, you ask yourself: Did we all want this? To be frank, many of us in our dreams imagined openness as above all an opportunity to openly and freely express our point of view. It has turned out that all those who hold other viewpoints have also received precisely this same opportunity. But at the moment we do not have enough experience of a genuinely democratic debate, and at the moment we are not accustomed to tolerating people with different views.

That is why Aleksandr Borshchagovskiy said at the plenum: "A dozen voices like Sergeyev's, invested with power, will easily put an end to any restructuring." That is it, no more no less!

I can understand that something in Yu. Sergeyev's speech seemed categorically unacceptable to Borshchagovskiy. What is Borshchagovskiy suggesting: depriving Sergeyev of the right to speak? But then by the logic of things Borshchagovskiy will also be deprived of the right to take exception to Sergeyev. That is, everything will revert to its own circles....

Incidentally, sharing his first impressions of the plenum which has just taken place, Igor Dedkov wrote that the din and clamor of the tape recording played at the plenum "was necessary to frighten the venerable writers' assembly a little--this is true." I will not begin to ask how Igor Dedkov is so well aware of S. Aleksayev's intentions rather than his actions. I will only say that the material produced by the orator cannot fail to evoke the most serious concern in any responsible minded citizen. But the intolerance caused by some thought or phrase prevents us heeding this alarm warning.

Overcoming all emotional difficulties, we must become accustomed not only to listen but also to pay attention to one another. Maybe it will turn out that our differences are not quite so serious, and in any event do not impede joint work.

Let us recall how convincingly and anxiously Mikhail Alekseyev, Yuriy Bondarev, Anatoliy Chepurov, and Nil Gilevich spoke at the plenum of the necessity for unity.

No, I am not idealizing the situation at all. And I think that when Alfonsas Maldonis said: "Our common platform is either only just becoming clear, or is under construction, and we must not mount it in closed ranks"--he was assessing the present situation quite soberly.

But serious common efforts are needed. For now it is already time to start harvesting the fruits of the seeds of truth. Of course, to expect instantaneous changes would mean experiencing something in the nature of a relapse of that very disease of "global illusionism" from which we so recently suffered. But even the most sincere and the most correct words will not in themselves help us. So what will help? Openness, responsibility, and public control. Many who spoke at the plenum spoke of the fact that the center of gravity of organizational and creative work is shifting toward the editorial office. This is apparently true. But why, for example, are journals' editorial collegia normally selected according to the ideas of chief editors who reckon that complete like-mindedness and unity of tastes will thus be ensured? Everyone thinks it natural that replacing the chief editor automatically entails replacing almost all the editorial collegium. But why, strictly speaking? Would it not be more useful if editorial collegia were the scene of debate, of the clash of differing views and concepts, so that the chief editor would not have the monopoly on truth? Of course, the responsibility and, consequently, the right to a definitive decision cannot be taken away from him, but would it not be worthwhile for this decision to mature in a situation of greater debate...? Is it not time to replace this habitual mechanism with a more modern one, that is, one that is genuinely democratic? If this is not done, then individual changes will not result in qualitative improvements: for all the full significance of personal merits we must—and all society is now involved in this—create those objective conditions which would enable us to depend on chance in any area: "We were lucky" or "We were unlucky" in our leader. And furthermore. The editorial collegia of literary journals and newspapers usually report on their work at sessions of writers' union secretariats, that is, to very responsible but nonetheless very narrow audiences. Should these audiences not be expanded and the reports be more frequent—once a year, say, for newspapers and once every 2 years for journals? Only, of course, without turning them into the usual evening meetings with readers which are more notable for greetings, smiles, and flowers than professional critical discussion.

And one more thing. Whereas previously gray literature was usually engaged in polishing and embellishing reality, now a new, superfashionable aspect of grayness is coming into being before our very eyes—ultracritical. Of course, I by no means have in mind the questionable, uneven works credited by the press with having real talent, although I do assume that their naked publicist nature, heightening the impact, is scarcely leading to a real temple of art. But when in the place of the salutary—in the past—allowances for "production" or "military-patriotic" themes people are now starting to try to demand allowances

for the enthusiasm of "exposure," then we must be aware of such a danger. Grayness does not have thematic nuances: The color remains.

Literature never existed anywhere on the sole enthusiasm for negation. It is indisputable that there is satisfaction in negation. It is also indisputable that each artist has the right to the theme, the subject, and the viewpoint which are dear to his heart. But I cannot help thinking about this since I heard an interview on the radio with the young writer Sergey Ryadchenko. He waited 10 years for his first book to come out. He has waited a little less for the second. And now when his writer's life is properly beginning, he answered as follows a question put by the correspondent of the Yunost [Youth] radio station about his creative plans: "Now I must be silent, and think about everything that has happened and that is happening. For those people who talked much and often in the past are in a hurry to express themselves now too..."

Is he really right? Will those people who assiduously embellished reality 2, 5, and 10 years ago really "exploit" restructuring by creating the usual indifferent articles--in reverse? Will the young, healthy forces of our literature really look for themes and subject matter only in those strata of our history where stagnant or even tragic phenomena have accumulated? Will the accumulated offense, bitterness, and weariness resulting from the injustices and disappointments, will the moral man's natural desire not to enter into bustling competition with those who have always written and who are ready now to write about anything you like--will they hide from Sergey Ryadchenko and his contemporaries the making of the extremely interesting original figure of the hero of our days born of torment and contradiction?

I realize that calls for the creation of a positive hero and works which "would conform to the grandeur of our affairs" have been compromised by the protracted period of stagnation and deformation in literature. But it is permissible to ask this question also: Thanks to what and to whom has restructuring become possible? Who is implementing it, surmounting incredible difficulties, sluggishness, inertia, bureaucracy, corruption, ignorance, and cupidity? And do we have the right to traditionally refer to the necessity for the notorious distance...? "Time, Forward!" and "Tanker 'Derbent'," "Sot" and "The Second Day" were created not on the trail of events and have remained in literature for all time. And in his time V. Dudintsev was able not to invent but to discern his Lopatkin in real life.... There are always Lopatkins in our society. You need only to wish to and you will be able to see them....

You need only to feel with the heart of an artist the genuinely revolutionary enthusiasm of our days.

You need only to crave participation in a struggle on whose outcome depends not only the future of our fatherland but also the historic fate of the idea for whose realization millions of fine people gave their lives.

You need only make yourself "fit" the struggle, not the other way around....

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CHEKHOV PLAY FEATURES OKUDZHAVA'S SONGS, VERSES

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 14 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Z. Papernyy under "Theater" rubric: "Strange Production of a Strange Play"]

[Text] Chekhov's "The Seagull" has the reputation of being a strange play. This play has also been called eccentric, incomprehensible, heretical, and brilliant. A great many premieres of "The Seagull" come to mind. There have been four of them in the Art [i.e., MKhAT] Theater alone.

Recently the importance of the studio theater movement has increased markedly. More and more we encounter productions not as rigidly "stationary," bringing to mind the audacious production which Konstantin Treplev puts on in "The Seagull."

And now we have yet another new production of Chekhov's play, this one by the "Sphere" Studio Theater (chief director -- Yekaterina Yelanskaya).

The stage is a six-sided platform surrounded by the audience on all sides. The play is staged as if it is a rehearsal, or run-through. It is directed -- with exaggerated confidence and authority by the actor, D. Nazarov, who also plays the part of Treplev.

There is much which is unusual in this play... Suffice it to say, for example, that the role of Nina Zarechnaya is played not by a single actress, as one might expect, but by four. At first, you are taken aback by this, but after a while you get used to this paradoxical circumstance, and adapt. Finally, you accept this many-faced, many-voiced Nina, without feeling any incongruity. G. Yegorova is particularly convincing as a member of this artistic quartet.

The coherence of the "group" portrayal of Nina Zarechnaya is not an isolated case. This is a realization of one of the major themes of the production -- defense of pure, naive art, devoid of cliches, conventions, creative complacency.

Arkadina is not portrayed by a single actress either, but by a trio, Ye. Popkova, N. Kharakhorina, N. Krasnoyarskaya. However, here the "group portrait" is not as successful. The actresses play the role not simply emphatically, but exaggeratedly; they overplay, verging on caricature.

Chekov's "The Seagull" is inimical to all manner of artificial enhancement, heavy-handed emphasis, "outpourings", and heavy undescoring. And yet this production contains much affected gesticulation, heart-rending crying, bustling and running about.

On 3 January 1899 Chekhov wrote to the young Gorkiy, "When a person expends the least possible amount of movement to perform a particular action, that is grace. In your works one gets a feeling of excess."

The performers have greatly exceeded what is called for in the play with respect to sound volume. The steward's wife, Polina Andreyevna, in love with Doctor Dorn, says to him, "Eugene, my dear, my beloved, take me home with you." This phrase contains pain, a groan, an appeal, but the actress, Ye. Obraztsova doesn't simply say it, she shrieks it.

Act IV. We hear the far-off sound of a melancholy waltz. Polina Andreyevna says, "Kostya is playing. He must be feeling sad." Does this seem to be an occasion for shouting? Yet, the actress shouts the line as if she is informing us not of melancholy, but of a fire.

The entire scene devoted to the quarrel between Arkadina and Treplev in the third act is delivered in tones verging on shrieks -- this is no matter of nuances; this is a conflict of voices strained to the limit.

The role of Konstantin Treplev warrants separate discussion. The actor playing this role, D. Nazarov, is not portraying the character as Chekhov wrote it. His guiding principle involves putting as much movement as possible into each action. In the play, the character lives an intense inner life -- here he is most notable for his hyperactivity. In Chekhov, Treplev is vulnerable, in this production he seems to be itching for a fight. He is provocatively audacious, impudent, arrogant. And yet, it is to him that Nina addresses her words about "feelings like delicate, graceful flowers" in the final scene of the play. What sort of flowers are these?! We are offered a Treplev who is tough and powerful, a brawny Treplev, nearly a boxer. What a strange idea...

This production has some unquestionable acting successes. We have already mentioned the actresses playing Zarechnaya. We also note the subtle handling of the role of Sorin by honored actor of the republic, I. Kozlov, and honored actor of the republic L. Grebenshchikova in the role of Masha. But even here there are some disappointments. For some reason the director has Masha and the teacher Medvedenko constantly hug and kiss. The play begins with the words "- Why do you always wear black? - I'm in mourning for my life. I am unhappy."

And they immediately throw themselves at each other like passionate lovers. And so it goes throughout the play. "I wish I never laid eyes on you!" Masha says bitterly and spitefully to her husband in an undertone, but eyes are one thing and kisses another. What is this supposed to mean? I repeat, in other more natural scenes without these unmotivated passionate kisses and embraces, Masha as played by Grebenshchikova is completely convincing.

I would like to suggest that the actors be allowed to drop their artificiality, their "overcommunication" with each other, their completely superficial emotional shrieking and "outbursts." This will help make the production fuller and richer.

And finally it should be mentioned that Chekhov's play is accompanied by the poems and songs of Bulat Okudzhava. This would seem to be the strangest and most unexpected effect of all. But you gradually grow accustomed to it. What is going on here? Could it be that Okudzhava's songs in some inexplicable way combine a noble old-fashionedness with their novelty? In his works, blue trolley-buses coexist peacefully with antique carriages.

This production is daring, open, and unusual; it both charms you and, at the same time, makes you want to object. It is a production which still needs to grow, and to free itself from those instances where a thoughtful interpretation of Chekhov yields to hyperactive and "graceless" forcing.

9285
CSO: 1800/466

SATIRES OF ZOSHCHENKO BECOME NEW MUSICAL

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 12 Mar 87 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Zoshchenko a la Vaudeville"]

[Text] Today the Khabarskiy Musical Comedy Theater offers Muscovites the show "Presenting Zoshchenko."

The musical libretto was written by N. Nikitin, based on Zoshchenko's comic sketches. This theater from the shores of the Amur is the first in the nation to stage it (set designer: T. Selvinskaya; musical director: A. Vitlin). This is what its producer, the chief director of the theater and honored artists of the RSFSR, Yu. Grinshpun, has to say about this play.

"Unfortunately not very many good musicals are being written today. We don't wait around for them to appear, but create them ourselves in our theater. This is how the production "Presenting Zoshchenko," consisting of two comic sketches by the famous Soviet satiricist found its way to the stage. The libretto and music were written by N. Nikitin. We decided to observe with a smile a time which is not all that long ago -- the 30s. We have tried to bring a holiday feeling, a theatrical fantasy, a game to the boards. We have populated this spacious, dynamic world with the plots of the witty, ironic comedies of Zoshchenko. What emerged was a play about social adaptation occurring at a time when restructuring, to which we are oriented today, does not pass through his consciousness.

9285

CSO: 1800/446

ASTAFYEV'S 'SAD DETECTIVE' PREMIERS AS NEW PLAY

Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 4 Mar 87 p 3

[Unattributed theatre report including opinion of actor Vitaliy Solomin: "The Sad Detective" on Stage]

[Text] The premier performance of "The Sad Detective" takes place today in the Mossovet Theatre.

It is being staged by Gennadiy Trostyanetskiy, chief director of the Omsk Drama Theatre and a newcomer to the Moscow stage. He also staged the novel of the same name by Viktor Astafyev, published in 1986 in the journal OKTYABR, No 1.

Vitaliy Solomin, the well-known screen and stage actor, plays the main role of Soshnin in the new show. Solomin joined the troupe's collective this season.

Here is what Solomin told a VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA correspondent in an interview:

[Solomin] The Mossovet Theatre offered me the role of Soshnin, the hero of "The Sad Detective". For me, working in a new collective meant five months with actors and actresses like L. Shaposhnikova, A. Barantsev, N. Lebedev, L. Yevtifyev, L. Naumkina, L. Kuznetsova, and, of course, the director G. Trostyanetskiy. In my opinion, he is one of a small number of directors who knows how to work with actors and enjoys it.

For this reason I found rehearsing the role very easy, although the character I play is a rather extraordinary figure. I have never encountered anyone like him either in literature or on the stage. Soshnin is a direct product of our time. I expect that one way or another "The Sad Detective" and the character I play will give rise to controversy. This is completely natural since, taking the author's lead, we have undertaken a difficult job: to understand the character traits in people today which stem from the times.

9287
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WEEKLY REVIEWS LATVIAN YOUTH DOCUMENTARY

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Mar 87 p 20

[Report by Nadezhda Azhgikhina, on roundtable film discussion: "Diagnosis: The Film "Do You Think It's Easy To Be Young?: A Crossroads of Opinion"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] "And the most terrible thing about it is that they don't take us young people seriously, they treat us like children, don't trust us at all. And I can't tell how bad this is. Bad, isn't even the word for it...", says one of the heroes of Juris Podnieks' documentary film, "Do You Think It's Easy To Be Young? (Riga Film Studio). "Professional viewers" Rolan Bykov, winner of the USSR State Prize, writer Leonid Zhukovitskiy, and Sergey Kurginyan, director of the "On the Boards" studio theater share their impressions of this film, which has become the cinematographic event of the day, with the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

This is a film about those who are searching for their places in life. In general, the idea is nothing new. But, judging by the unanimity of opinion, its fervent supporters, and stern critics, the picture "Do You Think It's Easy To Be Young?" is nothing like any other modern documentary about youth.

And yet it is not as if we are being shown something we have never seen before and haven't suspected. We have seen it, have suspected it, indeed we have known it. But we aren't accustomed to having young people themselves talk about it while looking directly into the camera, and with such frightening frankness.

They talk about how, on the way to school, they in effect put on a mask, otherwise they wouldn't be understood or accepted. The fine looking honor guards standing at attention on guard duty at the memorial obelisk, talk about how they don't know exactly what they're doing there. They talk about how a friend is being destroyed by narcotics and they can't do anything to help him. Finally, they talk about a fellow whom nobody ever liked, who has become the "punk" of the group in order to draw attention to himself any way he can, if only by his appearance...

The film's creators are in no hurry to interject their own commentary. It's as if they want us to listen to the youngsters themselves as much as possible, to hear them out, and to make each one of us in the audience really think about what is happening on the screen; after all this is something which concerns us all.

Rolan Bykov's Opinion:

"I like Yuris Podniyeks' film very much. And this is not my opinion alone. On the "Vremya" TV program, Elem Klimov, first secretary of the USSR Cinematographer's Union, called it an example of restructuring. It is striking how the model for restructuring movies for children and young people ratified by the Cinematographer's Union and the USSR Goskino, coincides on many points with the ideas in the film. I quote: "Cinematography for children and youth, which presents propaganda in favor of communist consciousness, spirit and morality, boldness and high-principals, honesty and integrity, must itself possess these qualities." It seems to me that the film "Do You Think It's Easy Being Young?" is spiritual and moral, bold and high-principaled, truthful, and full of integrity and, for this reason, it can be expected to foster all these qualities in its viewer. And further: "We must categorically abandon pretentiousness and preachiness in art, we must stop treating the young film-goer as someone incapable of perceiving vital truth. Films made for children and young people must show deep respect and confidence in them. Art for the generation now growing up has the mission of making open that which, for many years, was not permitted in communicating with children and youth." This is precisely the major merit of film.

"But artistic innovation certainly demands a new approach, a new analysis and evaluation. If we approach Podniyeks' film with our old standards, with a different standard of frankness than the one in the film (half-truths and semifrankness being a common thing in our criticism), then we undoubtedly will want the film to contain a critical explication of itself, making the theme, the facts, and the interpretation clear. We have already grown accustomed to the fact that the film must defend itself in any court and, today, when the need for this, which has always detracted from the vitality of our work, has passed, we continue to want it out of inertia. Art is being restructured and yet at times we still want it to hide behind the shield [and visor] of quotations, and journalistic bombast.

"It was never easy to be young. And it is true that we, in our time, were hungry and cold. Yet, comrades were a little closer together, and there were a few more of them, and there were fewer cliques, and our relations with adults were somewhat more open. I think that it is harder to be young today. It's true that today's children are shod, dressed, and, it goes without saying, they are fully entertained, but, could they, perhaps, be spiritually hungry and spiritually cold? And of course I too want the answer to the questions, "Well, how should we react? What should we do?" Yet, I know that art doesn't give prescriptions.. And indeed this is the aim of the film, to awake in the viewer the desire to find the answer to the complex questions posed by the youth of today and to find it as soon as possible!"

The model of restructuring cinematography to which Rolan Bykov refers was indeed ratified recently. The film was made earlier. And the characters in the film speak not of problems which are not theirs alone, but longstanding problems of society. This is how they understand them.

A Voice from the Screen

"- Someone makes me a present of some instructive, very moral truths. I take them to heart and try to reform, but then I am hit over the head by the fact that everything that this fellow himself does goes absolutely counter to these truths. This is what has led us to what is going on now and to that indifference that exists in society and can also be found among the young. Why do many young people of today say that there is nothing to fight for and it is impossible to fight? One indifference gives birth to another. It is like a stone rolling downhill: if it isn't stopped, it will roll farther. I don't know how you can learn to skate without falling a single time. How to do it? Never go anywhere without insurance? One insurance policy is the komsomol, another is a high school education, a model family. I think only one thing remains for us to do and that is fight. You are not capable of fighting and yet you are trying to educate us."

Yuris Podniyeks does not attempt to smooth over the contradictions, nor to draw conclusions. His film seems to call on us not to turn our backs on those who haven't found themselves and are not what we want them to be. It appeals to us to be more patient and humane. After all, the young people in the film are not trying to seem any better or worse than they are...

Leonid Zhukhovskiy's Opinion

"The young people in the film are shown accurately, but analyzed very superficially. Everything that these appealing young people say on the screen is taken by the authors as the absolute truth, utter frankness. Yet the young people in the film are not only appealing, they are far from stupid. Nearly always what they say is not what they think, but what they think people want to hear. Unfortunately, huge numbers of gatherings, meetings, and other ceremonial events have taught these kids to be hypocrites. They know adults at least as well as adults know them. Yesterday, what was wanted was passionate eyes and fiery words, so they produced them. Today, what is wanted is truth; and they produce truth with great alacrity, precisely, that truth adults expect to hear. In short, they criticize existing conditions just as sincerely as they extolled them a year ago. By the way, doesn't it seem to you that much of what they avow so passionately was read in the newspaper the day before yesterday? They are criticizing us with our own words.

"The film makers have shown them and listened to them, which is all well and good. But, unfortunately, they have not done their duty as professional publicists, they have not dug down to the essence of the phenomenon. Most important, they have not penetrated to the true inner world of these young people. Yet, each one of these kids possesses at least some sincerity. With adults, like those in the film, they are one way; with each other, another;

and with girls, yet a third way. We are only just entering the era of openness, and have still not gotten used to the fact that bitter words can be just as hypocritical as words of praise.

"Along with the camera, I am ready to pity the adolescent who breaks down and cries in court. But after all, this is only one of his faces. He showed another face when he wrecked the car, firmly convinced that, if anyone would have to pay for this bit of fun, it wouldn't be him. The scene with the girl who stole a dress from the theater wardrobe and is offended by the indignation of the adults is touching. But the same scene viewed through the eyes of the theater's watchman, low-paid and with many children, who is accountable for that dress, would look. Recently, I have had a number of occasions to meet with kids belonging to various cliques, including some of the "punks," who are so well represented in this film. Speaking with them has been very interesting, but only when they leave their heavy metal rock (which, after all, is only music) and their jackets studded with rivets (which, after all, are only clothing) behind. We don't judge the fireman by his cap, or the chef by his white apron. Why then is the "uniform" the first thing that interests us in young people?

"I am very glad that the film was made and screened; this is a talented and honorable work. I am thrilled at the freshness and clarity of the film makers' vision of these young people. However, I am disappointed that the thinking of these documentary makers falls so far behind their vision. In general, this is a problem which we all face today: if we are to speak the truth about life, boldness of vision is not enough, fearless thought is also required."

Controversy, differing and even completely opposite opinions.. The film does not claim to give a cure for all diseases, but only makes diagnoses. And these turn out to be so accurate and, at times, so impartial, that perhaps some will want to dismiss them. But this cannot be done.

A Voice from the Screen

"Today there's nothing worth living, dying, or fighting for.. We seem to have everything, but there still isn't anything... All there is is doing one's job, so we might as well march so as to ... satisfy requirements (this conversation is taking place at the memorial for the Latvian sharp-shooters), although sometimes I think, what's the point of this pretense? But everyone keeps his mouth shut, as if to say, I know why I'm standing at attention here and marching up and down. The passers-by stare at us as if we are crazy ... it isn't pleasant. But what can we change? Everything is set in concrete and our generation is scarcely going to be able to change anything."

The easiest thing to do is feign indignation and say that our young people have become shallow. But, if this is the case, it is important to think about where this shallowness came from.... This is what the film has tried to do. And it would be incorrect to conclude that it is addressed exclusively to our young people. Which generation was this film made for? We asked its director about this.

"Yuris, when you were working on this film, what sort of viewer did you have in mind, a young one or one who is more experienced?"

"Simply a viewer. It seems to me that it is a big mistake to contrast young people and adults, in art as well as in life. In the final analysis, we live in a single society, we have the same goals, isn't it better to be in concert?"

"The adults we see on the screen, are hardly "in concert" with the kids. At times, they are simply cruel, like the woman doctor lecturing the girl who had tried to kill herself. The judge pronouncing sentence gives the impression of being a man who is insensitive to other people's misfortunes. Even the enthusiastic singing teacher appears to be too involved with his own problems to have time to think about what his pupils do after their lessons. And the parents who are so over involved with their graduating children, all seem to be concerned only with the external aspect of communicating with their children; this is involvement without understanding..."

"Adults, teachers and even parents, frequently talk down to young people as if from the height of a pedestal. It might seem as if there's some justification for this, i.e., their superior experience and knowledge. But such conversations are always failures and trust never develops. And yet building trust is the main thing. It is time for us to get down from our pedestals and speak as equals.

"And as for young people, I like them, the 20 year-olds of today. Although it's difficult to say exactly what will become of them in the future -- often the protests of young rebels simply remains childish rebellion. There is a kind of failure of memory in these kids, they don't really know either the history of their country, or the values for which their grandfathers and greatgrandfathers fought."

"Do you think that your film will help some of these kids find their places in life?"

"I would be very happy if it were to help."

Possibly not everyone wants to understand that the good and humanity of "today's youth" far outweighs the negative details, which are so striking at first glance. After all, among the heroes of the film are many whose paths in life are already clear, people who have found themselves, who have helped themselves, and this is not only true of those who have graduated from the school of Afghanistan. The fellow working as an attendant at a hospital -- he knows what he wants, he will become a physician, and it is difficult not to believe him. The young man who made more noise than virtually anyone else at the rock concert is studying to be an agricultural specialist; he wants to work on the land. The young mother wants to see her baby daughter happy.. The recent graduate of high school is making his first film.. These young people are searching, searching for genuine truths, for values of their own, neither suggested nor foisted on them by others.

And even the conversation about what the people in the film do not accept or understand in life conceals latent optimism: they say these things because they don't want to live in a boring, empty, soulless way. And how happy yesterday's nihilists are to participate in a simple concrete project, the volunteer Saturdays in which young people are reconstructing old Riga. Perhaps there should be more such concrete communal projects.

But this is beyond the scope of the film. Indeed, it would be unrealistic to expect the solution of all problems from a single film which has said so much already.

Sergey Kurginyan's Opinion

"I think this is one of the best films of the decade. Its significance lies not only in its boldness and acuity, but, even more importantly, in the depth of its critical analysis. I would call this an artistic film created using documentary techniques, which make it even more powerful. This film raises serious philosophical problems in addition to social ones, for example the problem of alienation. How did it arise in our society? How do we find a way to combat it? The characters in the film will not accept the alienation, devaluation of values, and devaluation of spirituality which they sense. Of course, this is true not only of young people.

"We see here the results of the fact that one of the main virtues of our way of life -- its potential for spirituality -- is not being realized fully. But it is not always easy to see. For example, it is clear to us that there is a problem when the foundation for a building has been laid, but construction has been frozen [i.e., halted indefinitely]. When this same kind of construction freeze occurs in the building of spiritual values, it is not so obvious; however, we all suffer as a result. And it is time to improve this situation before it is too late."

Controversy about this film continues. And undoubtedly this controversy will engender some answers to the questions which were raised on the screen.

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LACK OF KAZAKH BILINGUAL DICTIONARY LIMITS BILINGUALISM

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 4 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word reply to a reader's letter by A. Qayrbekov entitled "Two Languages, Like Two Wings." The article responds to a reader's complaint on the difficulty created for those wishing to learn Kazakh as well as Russian by the lack of an adequate Kazakh bilingual dictionary and of conversational manuals and other aids.

Qayrbekov's response is a history of attempts to produce Kazakh lexicographical aids since the last major publication, the 1954 Kazakh-Russian Dictionary of Musabayev and Makhamedinov. This work, he notes, like other lexicographical aids produced since (including recently published conversation manuals), was inadequate when produced, is totally obsolete now and was in any case produced in too small an edition (100,000) to meet the needs of libraries and students, let alone those of the general public. Noting the 1966 Kazakh-English Shnitnikov dictionary published in the west, Qayrbekov suggests that the time has come for the Kazakhs to follow suit to meet a growing but still unmet need for a readily available general purpose Kazakh-Russian dictionary.

KAZAKH YOUTH PRESS BOOKS SELL WELL

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 1 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by Adilghazy Qayyrbekov, published under the rubric "Today Youth Book Month Begins," entitled "A Book, Your Friend, Your Companion." The article looks at the work of the Zhalyr Youth Press, which publishes 200-300 books a year with total printings of 10 million each a year (70 percent are specially intended for young people).

Qayyrbekov stresses in his article the great success of the press and the popularity of its products in spite of occasional problems with book quality, bad translations and other difficulties discussed in the article. A recent inventory, Qayyrbekov notes, showed that of the 25 million books published by the press during the years 1982-1984 inclusive, only a little over 1 percent or 304,000 still remain on the shelves in the stores. Books are popular, he concludes, the only need is to publicize them better.

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CSO: 1832/424

WRITER ATTACKS SELF-PERPETUATING BUREAUCRACY

PM141901 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jun 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Belorussian writer Ales Adamovich answers IZVESTIYA questions under the rubric "October, Restructuring, We": "Not a Word That We Cannot Square With Our Conscience"--first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Ales Adamovich is a well known Belorussian writer, literary critic and expert, publicist, professor, and corresponding member of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, winner of the Belorussian SSR State Prize. Readers will be familiar with a number of his books, and moviegoers with the film "Come and See" for which he wrote the scenario together with E. Klimov.

Ales Adamovich answers questions put to him by IZVESTIYA.

Question: The radical changes which are taking place in our society have been described as revolutionary. Where do you see the continuity between the cause of October and the transformations which are taking place in our country?

Answer: It is a question of revolutionary transformations of society under socialism. Is it not in this field that our social scientists and philosophers should finally tackle their intellectual and theoretical restructuring? So as not to remain mere guardians of ideas. Has the time not come to give some thought to the correspondence (or lack of it) between production relations and productive forces, for instance?

Personally, I see the continuity of October in the development of the working people into true masters of the fatherland, in the search for the "human factor" and the restoration of its role in production which has been lost in the process of bureaucratic administration. After all, without it, without this factor, while it may sometimes be possible to achieve quantity, it is impossible to achieve quality.

The path toward overcoming the domination of bureaucracy can already be glimpsed today: The people who are needed by society are aligning themselves around production in order of their usefulness, while what is useless is crumbling away. But of course, a bureaucrat is capable of proving and

establishing his "usefulness" not just by the papers he churns out. Sensing a threat to his existence, he, like everything else in nature, begins to feverishly reproduce, to multiply. Under the guise of restructuring he spawns new structures, organizations, creates new "centers," "departments," and so forth, and this can be observed even now. Thus, victory over bureaucracy still lies a long way ahead.

We are writing and talking about people who have neglected necessary and important work. Yet there also is a lot of useless work in our country! And this is where the reserve is hidden, where it is being accumulated, and has already been accumulated, the reserve on which the bureaucrats feed, from which they get their strength. There are deadwood structures, idling components (whole institutes, organizations, and so forth) which are ceaselessly propagating bureaucratic administration and which, as has been discovered, are needed. Not needed by society but by those who have found a comfortable niche in them. This has now come to light. A worker who is not needed can be made redundant. However, try to make redundant the mentality which has developed over many years in conditions of "work without soiling one's hands." This mentality is infectious--you may find that it has affected you yourself even though it seemed that you were wholeheartedly in favor of restructuring.

So do not forget about yourself either: Is there not within you an ally of those who are opposed to restructuring? Have all the benefits which make your life comfortable been earned through your contribution to society's welfare? Speaking in general, far too much that is defined by the word "stagnation" has become to be regarded by all too many people as far too normal.

Lenin's October, its ideas, popular character, and revolutionary inspiration permeate all the party's recent decisions and resolutions. Herein lies the guarantee of our future.

Question: What moral lesson and practical conclusion can, in your view, be drawn from the experience of the last few decades and their appraisal by the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum?

Answer: For those who have gotten used to total immunity, openness is a sharp knife. This was also noted at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. And we can see and hear it daily: "No good will come of all this democracy."

There is a tried and tested weapon against openness and criticism. As soon as you open your mouth, you get the reply: "So you don't like Soviet power, so you don't like socialism...?" In the twenties and thirties you could hear it from yesterday's pauper, proletarian, or Red Army guard who was convinced that now that he had the rural soviet or ispolkom stamp in his pocket he also had Soviet power in his pocket. I myself remember one such man--chairman of the village soviet. A worker complains to him about a leaking roof and he retorts: "Ah, so you don't like..."

A modern-day demagogue who identifies his inviolable position with the supreme interests of socialism uses the same words and tactics, but his cynicism and experience in suppressing openness is much greater. A number of now universally known stories about the persecution of correspondents and workers who dared to criticize have thrown light on how this mechanism operates in all its components. Take the local press! In my opinion the subordination of the press to the local authorities is not exactly conducive to the creation of an atmosphere of genuine criticism of shortcomings regardless of the people and offices involved. Would it not be better to subordinate rayon papers to the oblast authorities and oblast papers to the center?

And everyone knows what a wall of departmentalism and bureaucracy goes up when (even after the affair with the northern rivers and Lake Baykal) the public tries to intervene in questions and projects concerning the flooding of arable land, woods, hamlets, and even cities, the salination of the chernozems, and the erosion of podzolic soils. It seems that soon even one-sixth of the planet [allusion to the territory of the USSR] will not be big enough to accommodate all these destructive projects.

The Vitebsk region in Belorussia, which the people advocating flooding have in their sights, is the region which suffered most and was most depopulated during the war. Yet here they are, the advocates of flooding with their old, moth-eaten project. And with the same old attitude toward the public, shouting: "Do not meddle in what does not concern you! This is not your sphere of competence!"

What lessons should we draw from the past decades? The main lesson is that we should not succumb to the demagoguery about the "assault on the foundations." We must not forget how and under what pretexts past attempts at reforms and at democratizing economic and social life were thwarted.

Another frequently used argument by means of which bureaucrats suppressed criticism and new ideas was: It will play into "their" hands--meaning the enemies. But now that the doors and windows of openness have been thrown wide open, the fresh air is choking both the declared opponents of socialism and its zealous supporters who do not like the switch to plain speaking [otkrytost] and openness [glosnost].

Question: Which of Lenin's behests, which of Lenin's theses do you regard as most topical today? And what are your personal reasons for this?

Answer: Lenin said, as I recall, that it is important for the best elements in our social system--leading workers, first and foremost, and, second, the truly enlightened elements for whom one can vouch that they will not take a word on trust and that they will not say a word that they cannot square with their consciences--not to be afraid to admit any difficulty and not to shrink from any struggle to achieve an important set aim.

Words and ideas like these, and people like these, is what we specifically need today. I take these words as an appeal to each one of us: And you, are you about to give up in the face of inevitable difficulties which, moreover, are not the first ones encountered along our path? Conscience that is simultaneously courage, patience, and loyalty to ideals—these words of Lenin's say it all.

Question: What, personally, can you do, are you prepared to do, and are you actually doing for the restructuring? What obstacles have you encountered? Who are your allies and who are your opponents? And are you satisfied with the rate of progress of the restructuring?

Answer: Allow me to develop the theme of openness because it is an extremely important factor of the social atmosphere which a writer breathes, in which he lives and creates.

For example, I would like there to be still more openness and public control after, say, the Chernobyl situation in Belorussia and the Ukraine. People's health and their future are too important for us to be content with information on the lines of—All that needs to be done is being done as it should be, without your doing. We do not want to leave even less important questions without public supervision, and we are right.

The opponents of restructuring who are outside rather than within us are less harmful to the cause. It is like the role played by the editor in our work as writers: The "internal" editor is destroying, is undermining the very foundations of truth in a literary work, while the "external" editor, the censor, has to be content with a much smaller tribute.

I would like to hope that in this interview, too, the voice of the "internal" editor cannot be heard very much.

Question: Now about cadres. Who is setting the tone today and, in your opinion, how strong are the positions of those in whose interests it is to keep everything as it used to be?

Answer: Many of them you can hear and notice yourself: The "power differential" of the determination to implement serious restructuring varies greatly between the center and local level, between Moscow and the oblasts and republics. It is too early to speak of a triumphal march of restructuring. In Moscow the tone is set by the revolutionaries of restructuring (let us call them that), while at local level they are less audible and visible. One young deputy head of a ministerial department told me how he was summoned by the deputy minister and given the fatherly advice: "I have seen it all before. So I would advise you not to stick your neck out too far. The time will come and you, smart alecks, will be weeded out and everything will be back to square one."

And there are quite a lot of them whom the experience of past years has "taught wisdom" and who are trying to set the tone...!

Question: Who, in your view, are the people who adopt a wait-and-see attitude today, and why? What is to be done to ensure that the ideas of restructuring, having taken possession of the masses, become a material force, become a truly personal concern of everyone of us?

Answer: I have touched upon this theme earlier. The question to be asked is not just who is adopting this attitude and why, but also where. As anyone will tell you, it happens at local level. It is true that state acceptance is being introduced. It is true that here and there leaders are being elected by collectives. But those who are waiting for instructions as in the past are in the majority. And yet they should not be waiting, they should be acting themselves.

In order to achieve that the ideas of restructuring take possession of the masses and truly become a material force it is clearly necessary to ensure a more resolute intervention in local affairs, to ensure support for all the healthy forces of democratization, especially at local level. It is precisely here that the untapped reserves for restructuring lie. Incidentally, it is here also that the strongholds of sluggishness and inertia are located. We must not leave untouched either any enclaves of bureaucratic opposition or pockets of a passive, cowardly, and sometimes even ill-intentioned wait-and-see attitude.

Any curtailment of openness, be it today or tomorrow, would signal the comeback of bureaucracy. Only persistent, uncompromising openness is capable of transforming the idea of the renewal of our entire life into a material force. This is exactly what the people whose interests are seriously affected by the restructuring are trying to prevent.

Question: Now about young people. It has become customary to complain about young people's social passiveness. What impact are the current processes having on the character of the new generation? What do you expect from your children; in what do they support you and where do they disagree with you?

Answer: We take reasonable care to ensure continuity between generations. Our children and grandchildren must know and remember the price at which our present-day life was achieved.

This is absolutely right. Why then, are whole periods, whole chapters of history "blacked out," obliterated from the consciousness of that self-same young generation? Once I heard an amazing phrase--Stepping over the generation of the 20th congress. It meant removing from active social and intellectual life those who had applied to themselves for the rest of their lives the lesson of the debunking of the personality cult, the courageous truth of the party: taking not a word on trust, and saying not a word they could not square with their conscience.

Writers and critics today are talking about, are recalling the "men of the sixties," that is, precisely the generation of the 20th congress. Their lives and careers have taken different turns, but if there is anyone who has waited for, and is more ready than others to accept, the changes proclaimed by the April Plenum and the 27th Congress as their own cause, a cause they have suffered for, then it is they.

It is precisely this kind of inoculation with truth that young people need today, so as to ensure that the break with formalistic, bureaucratic distortions is final. How very necessary this is is confirmed by young people's reactions to the film "Repentence." Both positive and negative reactions. Especially the reaction of thinking, aware young people--how serious their faces looked, how deep their eyes were, how they argued after seeing the film.

Question: What guarantees are necessary to ensure that the restructuring process becomes irreversible? What, in your view, should the state, society, and each one of us do?

Answer: In what do I see a direct threat to openness and restructuring today? In overdoing the jubilee, and signs of this can already be detected. Indeed the great date of October can and must serve the deepening both of openness and all the transformations which we have begun. However, this will happen only on condition that we celebrate it in Leninist fashion, that is focusing attention on what has not yet been done or is not being done as it should be. Let us not forget the lessons of the past years when someone (and it must be said, someone who knew what he was doing) put together whole strings of jubilees, cleverly linking them together, each occasion accompanied by triumphant, festive pomp and ceremony, which is precisely how we got into the impasse of stagnation.

The steady progress and irreversibility of restructuring could be consolidated, it seems to me, by a more resolute renunciation of the nomenklatura selection of cadres, which should be replaced by universal recourse to elections, elections everywhere that is, at all levels.

What we hear is: "We (meaning you) are not yet ready for such elections!" And that after 70 years of Soviet power...! What they are ready for, the bureaucrats, I mean, is to get their hands on everything, and never again let go.

And so our society is ready, quite ready to express its will through electing its leadership everywhere. There are plenty of people to choose from, there are plenty of people to elect. Appointing oneself and surrounding oneself with people whom one has appointed oneself--this is the main instrument of bureaucratic self-reproduction. And this instrument must be broken and discarded. Once and for all.

What we need are elections, genuine elections, at all levels, and nothing but elections! And to be more specific, elections not like the ones we held at the last Writers' Union Congress but like those which the cinematographers were able to hold, for instance. However, I believe that the writers, too, are ready for this kind of restructuring. Our upcoming plenums will tell.

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CSO: 1800/733

ArSSR INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER FIGHTS UNEARNED INCOME

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by A. Shaginyan, Internal Affairs Minister of the Armenian SSR: "Let's Intensify Our Efforts."]

[Text] The new legislation aimed at intensifying the struggle with unearned income has already been in effect for more than six months. The essence of its demands basically comes down to the establishment of a situation in which all channels and loopholes allowing the illegal self-enrichment of certain individuals at the expense of the state and citizenry would be reliably closed again, and in which precise control of the measurement of work and consumption would be implemented.

After the of the decree on the "Intensification of the Struggle with the Extraction of Unearned Income" came into force, one of our most fundamental problems was the communication of its essence and spirit to the entire rank and file of the internal affairs organs, so that each worker deeply and clearly recognized his own participation and responsibility for the accomplishment of the demands of this important document.

Recently, the organs of the militia have brought to light a series of mercenary crimes which have caused the economy no small damage. For example, the former superintendent of the shop for "Pepsi-Cola" production in the Yerevan non-alcoholic beverages plant, B. Ovsepyan, put together a criminal group from a number of driver-dispatchers as well as plant and commerce security guards, and with their help plundered 6600 bottles of "Pepsi-Cola" through a commercial network worth a total sum of 5100 rubles.

While managing warehouse No. 1 of the material-technical supply base "Armsbytsnab" of the Domestic Service Ministry for the population of the republic, T. Tairyan plundered and stole for particular individuals scarce blow-dryers as well as foreign perfume worth more than 84,000 rubles.

While managing the electrical department of the Yerevan GUM, R. Mkhchyan entered into collusion with P. Aladzhanyan, the director of the republic farm machinery station Agronom, and stole the last twelve "Volga" washing machines, with the aim of subsequently reselling them at a higher price.

Unfortunately, the list of such crimes, in which the basic motive is the craving for money, could continue. These shameful and socially dangerous phenomena evoke the righteous indignation, condemnation, and anxiety of all honest workers of the republic. After all, strivings for unlawful gain and unearned income are by nature one of the forms of parasitism, which is fundamentally incompatible with the socialist way of life. Its manifestations are varied: besides embezzlement, there is consumer and registration fraud, falsification of financial documents, graft, extortion, and speculation.

A kindergarten teacher in the village of Mrgastan in Echmiadzinsk rayon, R. Paravyan, took a bribe of 4,000 rubles from a worker in the Echmiadzinsk conserves plant, E. Kagramanyan, in exchange for her assistance in entering the Yerevansk Medical Technical College. She also received 2,000 rubles from a lab assistant at the same enterprise, Yu. Sarkisyan, for her intercession in the allocation to him of a plot of land.

The manager of the printing shop at the Armenian Agricultural Institute, A. Markosyan, in collusion with the equipment foreman at the scholarly and scientific center, V. Pogoyan, as well as a worker at the "Razdanmash" plant, A. Karapetyan, a sales person at food store No. 702 of the rayon soviet, S. Manukyan, a sales person at food store No. 816 in Mashtotsk rayon, A. Saakyan, and a G.A.P.T.P. No. 5 driver, Ye. Avetisyan, engaged in the illegal manufacture and sale of checks for the advance order of butter and meat.

It is apparent that strivings for self-enrichment through unearned income unite people of the most varied professions. That is why we must see this as a danger signal and activate a still greater struggle with self-seekers and money-grubbers of all stripes.

But intensification of the struggle is senseless without the close cooperation of the militia with the inspection-control organs and society at large. Success can be achieved only when the efforts undertaken have a complex character. Repressive measures alone will not solve the problem.

Today, the party attaches primary, highest-priority significance to the prevention of crime. Prophylaxis is the most humane course in the struggle with criminality. In practice, the causes and conditions favoring embezzlement, for example, almost always come down to instances of mismanagement, the absence of proper order in the accounting of finished products, and insufficient

control of the technological process, the distribution of raw materials and fuel. It is precisely such omissions and deficiencies in the work of managers that provide the fertile soil on which all kinds of mercenary crimes grow.

Quite concrete reasons and conditions engender even so-called petty plunder. Among these factors we include the weak technical equipment of national economic establishments, the practical absence of internal shop rules and permission systems, and inexactingness in the choice of security workers, as a result of which national property is "guarded" by one who should not be allowed near material valuables.

At a basic level, there is presently also educational work to be done among the workers' collectives. The councils on crime prevention and comrades' courts exist only in form. They take action only in those instances in which the "thief" is caught red-handed, and unfortunately, we fairly often see a liberal attitude towards the petty plunderer: as a rule, a warning is issued, without resorting to more effective measures. For example, such measures would include the deprivation of the thirteenth month's wages, being set aside in the waiting list to receive housing, a fine of 50 rubles, and so on. It is no accident that symbolic punishment also acts symbolically: three times in the course of 1986 alone, a worker at the Kafansk meat combine, A. Akopyan, was apprehended while, on the first occasion, trying to take two kilograms of meat out the door. Having been given a slap on the wrist, he attempted on the second occasion to take another three kilograms. The punishment? A fine of fifteen rubles. And only on the third attempt, when Akopyan, having come to believe in his own impunity, took six kilograms of meat, was the matter transferred to a popular court, which fined him 150 rubles.

Experience shows that petty theft is far from harmless, as can be shown at first glance: in 1986 alone damage to the republic from registered "carry-outs" exceeded 20,000 rubles.

It is indispensable to devote greater attention to the creation of reliable defenses of socialist property, to equip facilities with proper alarms, and with cloak rooms for workers' personal belongings, and more widely to take measures for the legal and educational influence of people who practice theft. The combination of care for the working masses with openness in work must in the final analysis facilitate the formation at each enterprise of an atmosphere of decisive condemnation of individuals who, in however small a way, are encroaching upon the security of public property. The struggle with these phenomena is the primary obligation of each collective, and an index of its moral maturity.

Continuing with the discussion of prevention, it would be desirable to touch on the problem of the struggle with speculation. This dangerous crime undermines state price policy, and strikes a blow against the principle of distribution of material values, and in the final analysis, against the welfare of the people. Speculation usually occurs on those goods which are temporarily in short supply, and as soon as industry adjusts its output, the speculator is left without a buyer.

Only twenty years ago, ball-point pens and chewing gum were constant objects of speculation; not at all long ago a great deal of money was spent on imported jeans. Now these same pens and jeans lie plentifully on the shelves, and speculation in them is practically non-existent.

Speculation is the result of a shortage--one which has often even been created artificially. Let us say that goods which are withheld from sale almost always end up with individuals who resell them at a speculator's price. Moreover, the speculator does not limit his criminal activities to the borders of the republic. Several of these individuals have made long voyages with the aim of acquiring goods for speculation.

Yerevan residents Ye. Akopyan and O. Khudaverdyan bought imported "Zosya" and "Rodeberg" sets in a Kiev furniture store and then resold them, making a profit of 1,700 rubles.

A resident of the village of Achadzhur in Idzhevansk rayon, V. Firumyan, acquired five VAZ-2106 motor vehicles in Irkutsk and Angarsk with the aim of speculation, gaining about 9,000 rubles from their resale.

A forwarding agent in the procurement office of the Kafansk regional committee, A. Stepanyan, bought up five tons of watermelons in the Azerbaydzhansk SSR at 50 kopecks a kilogram, and sold them for a ruble per kilogram, making a profit of 2500 rubles from speculation.

We cannot help but be concerned by the attitude towards speculation taken by certain strata of the population, who condemn it verbally, but encourage it with their actions. Speculation is rather widespread in certain articles of clothing, and perfumes, especially in certain scientific research and design institutes, VUZes and other institutions. In front of everyone, the speculators unceremoniously offer to purchase scarce goods, even taking orders for one thing or another, and no one seizes them or calls the militia. And the speculators, realizing their ability to operate with impunity, become even more brazen.

Evidently, an omission in educational work among the youth is making itself felt. So called "brand name" wares cost so much from the speculator only because they are "not ours."

Incidentally, the militia have uncovered a series of cases in which a gaudy foreign label has been pasted on to our own domestic production, and these goods literally sold like hot cakes.

The foregoing also reflects upon educational efforts with juveniles and youth in the process of becoming citizens. Komsomol organizations have clearly manifested passivity on this question.

In this regard, it would be desirable to touch on the matter of the urgent necessity of creating an organization which would be capable of undertaking the coordination of separate efforts of youth, with the purpose of organizing their free time.

In Moscow, Leningrad, and certain other cities this has long been practiced already. The youth are enlisted in the fulfillment of a variety of assignments in the sphere of everyday service, such as household cleaning, refitting an apartment, babysitting, and doing shopping.

If these common services were rendered more often it would be possible to give still more care to veterans of war and labor, and to those who are alone, ill, or simply aged.

The benefit of such an innovation to us would be more apparent to the degree that it relieved the enterprises of consumer services and created healthy competition, thereby raising the level of satisfaction with consumer services. This would also create the opportunity at the beginning of life for the youth to solve for themselves to a certain extent their own material problems, in a completely legal manner. The law "On Individual Labor Activity", which took effect on 1 May 1987, still further raises the prestige of the ruble which has been honestly earned through labor.

The militia will also further intensify their efforts in the struggle against plunderers, speculators, bribe-takers and other individuals who are extracting unearned income. However, we will not manage without the aid of society. After all, criminals do not do their dirty deeds in a vacuum. People are always involved. And much depends on their attitude towards what is happening--will evil remain unpunished? If there is a dishonest salesman, this means there is also a client who has been taken. The presence of a speculator presupposes a buyer. If someone solicits a bribe, there is also he from whom it was solicited. But are we always principled, and do we always have sufficient nerve and civil courage, in the final analysis?

Only with an attack by the entire community on unearned income will we achieve the complete eradication of this crime, which contradicts the very essence of the socialist way of life.

KAZAKH COMMENTATOR ON PROBLEM OF NATIONALISM

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 1 April 1987 carries on pages 2-3 a 2,600-word article by Professor Tabighat Sarsenbayev, PhD, published under the rubric "Political Commentary," entitled "Internationalism and Nationalism, Two Different World Views." The article looks at the implications of internationalism and nationalism in the KaSSR against the backdrop of the December "incident" in Alma-Ata.

Sarsenbayev seeks to demonstrate the great advantages of internationalism to the Kazakhs as well as to other Soviet nationalities since internationalism represents the common interest of society versus the particularist, individual interests of nationalism (but here, he stresses, nationalism is to be distinguished from feelings of nationality, a positive thing under the Soviet system). In his article, Sarsenbayev plays down the importance of the replacement of Kazakh Kunayev (not named) with Russian Kolbin. Such replacements, he notes, are nothing unusual in and of themselves in an internationalist, Soviet society, which in any cases encourages the free interaction of members of all nationalities without imposition of restraints or quotas. The Kazakhs, however, Sarsenbayev claims, are otherwise well represented in republic life (a fact he backs up with statistics).

KAZAKH MINISTER DISCUSSES DORMITORY SHORTAGE

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 3 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,300-word interview with Bekbolat Zamanbekovich Usenbayev, KaSSR Deputy Minister of Higher and Specialized Middle Education, published under the rubric "Our Interview," entitled "A Dormitory Room--One's Home." The interview was recorded by Qasym Azimkhanov and addresses the issue of recent press criticism of KaSSR student dormitories.

The KaSSR now has 184 dormitories with 68,000 students (62 with 28,000 are located in Alma-Ata), but, interviewer Azimkhanov suggests, many are in poor repair, are poorly equipped or are inadequate to the purposes they serve. There is also the problem, he notes, of overall inadequacy in the total number of dormitory rooms, with the problem particularly severe in some KaSSR cities.

Minister Usenbayev acknowledges these problems, the issue of poor upkeep of existing dorms in particular, but claims that by 1988 there will be an excess of dorm space, relieving the pressure among other things by

allowing the spare capacity to compensate for some old dorms to be taken out of service and refurbished. He does claim, however, that one reason for the dorm space shortage in some parts of the republic is improper use of dorm space for other purposes.

Responding to a question about dorm space for students with families, Usenbayev claims that this problem is being responded to as well. In one case a student family had to give up its education after being expelled from its dorm rooms. Usenbayev agrees that this is unacceptable.

ALMA-ATA GRAVEYARD VANDALISM DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 24 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 2,100-word article by LENINSHIL ZHAS special reporter Saparbay Parmanqulov entitled "Graveyard Vandalism." The article reports on a 30 March incident in which nearly 200 graves were vandalized and more than 40,000 rubles worth of damage done by three Russians and one Kazakh vandal at Alma-Ata's "Qengsay" Cemetery.

Parmanqulov goes into some detail on the incident, including a discussion of the biographies, backgrounds and work records of the four perpetrators, who were dead drunk at the time the incident took place. Judging by one remark about the need for more "internationalist education" by one person interviewed, graves desecrated may have been Kazakh. After the incident the city party committee was subject to major criticism by the Central Committee, Kazakhstan Communist Party for a lack of adequate security at the graveyard.

/9604

CSO: 1832/422

'PORNOGRAPHIC' FILMMAKER IN TURKMENIA SENTENCED

LD121257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Jun 87

[Text] Here is a TASS report:

"Eaten Alive" [Syedennyye Zazhivo] will no longer appear on the screen to maim the human psyche with its violence and sadism. This videocassette was part of the material evidence in the criminal case of Khachanov, whose trial recently ended in Ashkhabad. The employee of the Turkmen SSR Chamber of Commerce has received 2 and 1/2 year's deprivation of liberty for disseminating sadistic and pornographic films, which he screened for money in his own home.

Experts, including psychiatrists, concluded that several tens of video-cassettes seized from Khachanov, containing films like "Zombie" [Zombi] and "The Vault" [Sklep], have a destructive effect upon the nervous system, inculcate socially dangerous aggression, and have psychopathic consequences for people.

The Turkmen TV film "The Gap" [Bresh] helped create a broad response and express public opinion about the trial. It focused viewers' attention on the fact that unscrupulous owners of domestic cinemas would have to view their dubious repertoires on their own, if none of the rest of us wanted to see such spectacles. In this case, these were people whose professional duty it was to sound the alarm. The clandestine showings were attended by the manager of the Administration of Parks of Culture and Recreation, a female employee of the Theatrical Administration, and a female school-teacher.

The trial has been a loud warning signal to those responsible for organizing interesting leisure activities in the Republic. If it is disregarded, the Khachanovs will fill the gap with their poison.

/9604

CSO: 1830/582

MOSCOW TV FILM ATTACKS BALTIC EMIGRES

LD132222 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 12 June 1987 carries a 60-minute documentary film entitled "The Value of Truth." The film, produced in 1987 by the Ekran Association and written by B. Sheynin, is about the activities of emigres from the Baltic republics now residing in the United States and other western countries. The film--a narration with interviews of emigres in Vienna and Soviet Baltic officials, footage of the Jurmala conference of U.S. and Soviet public representatives, and archive footage about events in the Baltic republics during the Nazi era--discusses the views of emigres regarding Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The film begins by showing scenes of a seashore, then street scenes in the Baltic republics. The narrator then says: "This is the Baltic area and the western seaboard of the Soviet land. Perhaps for some people these towns seem like museums, as there is so much here that speaks of the past. But for people memories of the past are bridges to the future. For almost half a century now the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians have been travelling the same path of renewal with the rest of the Soviet land. Their successes in developing their national cultures and economies delight everyone who cherishes the truth. Fate decreed that people originating from the Baltic republics are now living in many Western countries. What is their view from afar of their former homeland? What allows them to know about it? What ideas are planted in their minds? These are the things we want to find out."

After displaying the film's title "The Value of Truth," the video shows Vienna street scenes, and the narrator says: "This is Vienna, the Austrian capital. Viewers may be surprised that we have begun this account on the Soviet Baltic republics so far away. At the end of 1986 the all-European conference on security and cooperation in Europe opened in Vienna. At the Hofburg Palace the delegations of 35 countries headed by their foreign ministers discussed issues of vital importance not only to Europeans but also to the whole world. It was not just diplomats and journalists who assembled then in Vienna. The heralds of peace, who had come from faraway Japan were beating their drums on the square adjoining the Hofburg Palace from morning to night. They were from a country that had experienced the nightmare of nuclear attack. Various people had come here trying to draw attention to problems of concern to them."

The video then shows columns of demonstrators carrying flags, balloons, and banners. The narrator says: "One day we saw a demonstration by Baltic emigres. After leaving Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia dozens of years ago, they have long since become Americans, Canadians, or citizens of Sweden or the FRG. Children and grandchildren have grown up far from the land of their ancestors. But what brought them to Vienna? In all this there is some illogicality. The placards go on about freedom for the Baltic republics, but above them there are U.S. and Canadian flags."

An interview with an American is then shown, with the unidentified interviewer confirming that the American lives in the United States. The interviewer then asks whether he is "struggling for the freedom of Latvia," and asks whether he has been to Latvia. The American answers in Latvian that he has and that the Soviets illegally occupied Latvia and the Baltic states, and that he wants Latvia and the other Baltic countries to be free.

Another Latvian-speaking person is then shown, and says: "Take your tanks out of Latvia and we will be friends with you. People are unable to speak freely there and everyone there is watching one another. We want a free Latvia."

The narrator then adds: "We attempted to talk to various people, but it seemed to us that just one person was speaking to us, so similar were their words and thoughts."

An interview is then shown with Nikolaja Neilands, deputy foreign minister of the Latvian SSR, a participant in the Vienna conference. Neilands says: "I am aware of the existence of these people because they have approached me and conversed with me, and some of them asked questions at the news conference. However, I am not surprised at their activities. The fact is that the present Reagan administration in Washington has been actively playing the so-called Baltic card for anti-Soviet purposes. Indeed, the playing of this card requires our compatriots. I should say that among these groups there are young, naive people who incidentally have a poor mastery of the Latvian language. It was paradoxical that at a news conference one of these young girls attempted to ask me a question in Latvian and it was not well formulated. I must laugh because she addressed me as beloved instead of the word she should have used. It was clear that it was a translation from English. But I said that it was a good effort. At least she knows something in Latvian.

"But with regard to their knowledge of Latvia, well, they do not have any. Unfortunately, their Latvia is an inverted Latvia. However, there are also of course representatives of the middle and older generations for whom politics is a profession and who are attempting here to tell clear cock-and-bull stories. They have engaged here in half-truths and lies. Unfortunately, I must say that their lies remind me of the Goebbels principle that one needs to lie in such a way that no one could ever imagine that you could lie so blatantly."

The video then shows speakers and audience at a press conference, and the narrator says: "When we attended this news conference we saw how Goebbel's prescription is used. The press conference was being held by the leaders of the so-called Baltic World Council, which came here from the United States and Canada." A speaker then says in English: "The cause of the Balts is our cause too. If we forget about them, we shall be forgetting about ourselves."

The narrator adds: "This was stated by Per Ahlmark, a Swede, who was even at one time a member of the Swedish Government. But the Baltic Council is how anti-Soviet hobby." To Ahlmark's comment that "We must ask the free governments of the world to raise more often the issue of the fate of the Baltic peoples," the narrator says: "What governments then did Ahlmark have in mind? To our surprise Zimmermann, the U.S. ambassador who was heading the delegation to the Vienna conference, was in the hall. We did not manage to get Zimmermann's speech on film, but a recording has been located. He said: I am glad to be among you. I am pleased to see the people that have assembled here. I want to assure you that we shall continue the policy of defending human rights and self-determination in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

"While pondering over that strange statement, we remembered how, a month before that, representatives of the Soviet and U.S. public gathered together in Jurmala to discuss topical questions of relations between our countries. As we all know, many of the negative things in those relations are on the conscience of the U.S. administration. What new baggage did the U.S. statesmen bring with them to our country?"

Then U.S. presidential adviser Matlock is shown addressing the meeting of USSR-U.S. public representatives. Matlock says: "The use of force and the absence of agreement are the reasons why the United States has never recognized the incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into the Soviet Union."

The narrator then says: "That is what presidential adviser Mr Matlock said. At one time, advisers like him held the U.S. presidents back from recognizing the country of the Soviets. Now it is only part of our country that they do not want to recognize. Perhaps that is progress, after all. U.S. diplomat Palmer was even more frank. He said they do not like the fact that after the October Revolution there existed an alliance of the Latvians with Lenin and Dzerzhinsky."

A journalist is then shown addressing the meeting. The journalist, (Enisa Spura), says: "As we all know, Soviet power was established in Latvia in 1919. But as a result of the intervention, our fathers, the Latvian Red Riflemen, had to leave Latvia. In 1940 the workers and peasants again restored Soviet power. In America they like very much to say that every nation should decide its own fate. Why is it that they deny the rights of Latvians to decide their own fate?"

Matlock is then shown addressing the meeting: "What I said was that the United States has never recognized the incorporation of the independent Baltic countries into the Soviet Union. It is a question of legal recognition, and it is a fact."

Over archival footage of crowds in the streets, the narrator says: "Come, come, Mr Matlock! If it is the facts you want to turn to, every school-child in our country knows them! In 1940 the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia threw off their fascist rulers and stated their desire to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was the will of a people in uprising. Afterward, following the Jurmala meeting, we found on shelves in the state archives of the CDR documents that shed additional light on the facts and events mentioned by the participants in the discussions. As we know from history, for more than 5 centuries the crusaders, and then the German barons, tried to Germanize the Baltic lands. Even their annexation to Russia in the 18th century did not halt the process. It was only 1917 that brought genuine national liberation to all the people of the former Russian empire. For the first time in the many centuries of their history, the Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians acquired statehood. The proclamation of Soviet power in the Baltic was an echo of the October Revolution. However, the national bourgeoisie, having gained military support from the western imperialist countries, managed to stifle the revolution, and it dealt out cruel reprisals against its leaders and rank-and-file."

An interview follows with Professor Gunther Rosenberg of Humboldt University in Berlin who outlines his book on Russia and Germany from the October Revolution to the 1922 treaty. This is followed by an interview with a historian, Aigar Vehemetsa, specializes in Estonian history. Vehemetsa says: "Estonia, or the so-called Estonian Democratic Republic, was a far cry from heaven on earth. It had its own classes, class difference and social disorder. Overall, it was a quite cruel dictatorship under President Pats in the late 1930s. So some people in Estonia had a good life, but not all the people. Numerous Estonians lived below all living standard norms, even in Asian or Latin American terms."

Over archival footage of people in evening dress and ballroom dancing at a ceremony, the narrator says: "Film cameramen at that time tended more to chronicle the life of high society, but something else remains in the archives, too. Embroidered on the flag shown here are the words: Everything for Latvia! The constituent assembly of the society of Latvian traders. Beautiful, is it not? Everything for Latvia: that, of course, means income for them." The video then shows people marching in the streets, carrying banners. The narrator continues: "But as far as Latvia is concerned, we found some other pictures: Give us bread and work!--a demonstration of the unemployed in Riga. Is that the idyll? And the idyll ended in just the same way as any capitalist country." At this point the video shows police moving in and arresting demonstrators, as the narrator says: "And these things happened in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. It happened everywhere that the bourgeoisie held sway, but it their own nationalist bourgeoisie, or British, French, or German. Torn away from

its natural raw material base of Russia and the Russian markets, industry in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia did not even manage over a period of 20 years to reach the 1913 level. The Baltic area turned into an agrarian appendage of the imperialist West. The wages of industrial and agricultural workers were among the lowest in Europe."

The video then shows men doing penal servitude, with views inside a jail. The narrator adds: "It was perhaps only in penal servitude that there was no unemployment. The jails, too, were working at full steam. One of the most terrifying places of confinement in Lithuania was the underground Kaunas Fort No 9. Few of its prisoners survived to the liberation that the year 1940 brought. The people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia paid with the lives of thousands of their best sons for the cruel social experiment that the bourgeoisie set them, interrupting for a whole 20 years the path of progress proclaimed by the October socialist revolution. During the Great Fatherland War the Hitlerites turned Fort No 9 into an international death factory. Today monuments have been erected everywhere throughout the fraternal Baltic republics in memory of the sacrifices and to the glory of those who fought against Nazism and brought liberation. There is also a monument to Soviet servicemen in the Vienna that they saved."

A man-in-the-street interview is then shown with passers-by in Vienna regarding an incident of vandalism against the monument to Soviet servicemen in downtown Vienna, with the interviewees agreeing that this was a bad thing. The video then switches, showing youths wearing shirts that say "Freedom for Latvia" and carrying banners. The narrator says: "We looked at the furious faces of these young people, and to be honest we were sorry for them, zealous fulfillers of the evil will of their elder mentors. What do they know about our country, the country that gave life to their forefathers; and what do they know about their Soviet peers? We went to Vilnius, the capital of Soviet Lithuania, on 1 September, when ceremonies marking the arrival of new undergraduates were being held at Vilnius State University, one of the oldest in Europe. For yet another generation of young Lithuanians the university will open the doors to science. They will become biologists and philosophers, historians and philologists. However, we will not idealize or simplify things. It is an inherent characteristic of young people not to take established truths on trust. They try to find things out for themselves, and mostly they succeed in doing this.

"But sometimes it happens differently, as it did with this young Estonian, (Urias Nagel), a student at Tartu University. I am young, but have already lived through a lot, he sings. Perhaps (Urias) is singing about himself. In life's everyday disorders he saw confirmation that those people ready to reject anything and everything were right. He came together with people with whom he began to compose things and sent them to our opponents in the West, things they appreciate most of all: allegedly reliable information about the dissatisfaction of young people with the Soviet system and mythical strikes in Estonia. He threw himself into this with a vengeance, but later he came to his senses and realized that he had become a pathetic pawn in the hands of the enemies of the Estonian people."

(Nagel) is then shown speaking to the camera in Estonian, as the narrator provides Russian translation: "I was asked to talk about something that I had been thinking about for a long time: How did it all happen? The political thrust of what we wrote was hostile to socialism. The information we gave was in most cases what one could call nonsense, or at least subjective opinions, which they try to present as the opinion of the people. What did this activity, which lasted several years, teach me? Primarily that our world really is split into two, and in this struggle every person really does have to choose. The only important thing is that your choice should not turn out to be against your friends and against the whole small Estonian nation that we love so much."

The video then shows an elderly man, as the narrator says: "Underground groups collect material for us on violations of human rights. (Ans Kipar) was one of the leaders of Estonian emigration; it was he who, after the war, organized the motorboat runs that penetrated Soviet territorial waters and deluged us with spies and saboteurs. It was through him that the Western agencies obtained the false information Nagel spoke of." The narrator goes on to say: "That is the way it is: counting on young people, who were themselves unable to see the events that determined the present path of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia."

The narrator goes on to describe "facts of history that people really do not like to mention in the West" about Nazi crimes in Lithuania and Nazis turning up in the West. The narrator then says: "You remember the phrase: the cause of the Balts is our cause; if we forget about you, we forget about ourselves. Who believes all this? Unfortunately, people do."

More man-in-the-street interviews are then shown from Vienna, with the interviewees advocating freedom for Latvia and saying they do not want communist control there. When one respondent says that in 1917 Latvia was free, the interviewer says: "But in 1940 the Latvians went out into the streets and demanded unification with the USSR." The interviewees then deny that this happened.

Another man-in-the-street interview is then shown, with the respondent saying he left the Soviet Union and now regrets the decision very much.

The video then shows the Jurmala meeting, with a man in the audience asking: "Radio Free Europe in Latvian is constantly alleging that all the secretaries of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee are either Russians or Latvians who cannot speak a word of Latvian. I personally--and I think many of the local inhabitants present in this hall--have had the opportunity not only to listen to, but also to talk to these people in pure Latvian. My question is this: Who are these quasi-experts on Latvia at Radio Free Europe, and would you, Mr Wattenberg, promise to tell them the truth?"

The video then shows Radio Free Europe official Wattenberg, who says in English: "I understood your question as asking how we find out the views of Latvians. I can give you the names of Latvian emigres. I think we have

eight or nine such people who work for us. They work in Munich and broadcast in the Latvian language to Latvia." The narrator then says "Mr Wattenberg nevertheless did not give the names of these people."

The film then shows more interviews with emigres in Vienna, who note that they work and associate with similar emigres. The narrator then says: "Even back at the start of the century Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians were leaving the places of their birth out of need and unemployment. They went away to places where they hoped their strong arms and wills would be required. But being far away their hearts felt a nostalgic longing. This was passed on to their children and grandchildren. Now it is just like a dream. Despite the instructions from emigres centers, youth groups arrive every summer in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They have many friends here."

The video shows a man walking in a park, as the narrator says: "The artist Kazimieras Zeromskis returned to Lithuania from the United States. He spent almost 50 years in a foreign land, where he had both success and recognition but had not become reconciled in his heart with an emigre's destiny. He said: It is very easy to answer why I returned. I missed my homeland. I worked as a teacher, I had my students, but I used to think about my homeland. Way back--25 years ago--I conceived the idea of presenting a collection of my best works, 300 pictures, as a gift to my homeland. I came here for the first time in 1982, and I saw big changes. Vilnius had become more beautiful, and I met a lot of interesting artists. A big step forward had been taken. All this influenced my decision to return, he said.

"His pictures are of a world he left behind. The characteristic feature of Zeromskis' artistry is that he attempts, through medium of painting, to investigate the essence of what is happening. The artist provides his assessment of a society where, often concealed behind the magazine gloss of prosperity, are moral deformity and lack of soul. For Zeromskis, returning home was the natural thing to do. But these people we met in Vienna: Can it be that they are all nourished only by hatred for everything in the land that once gave them life?

The video then shows emigre demonstrators being addressed by a Soviet cameraman, who asks the demonstrators why they turned their backs when he tried to take their picture. One of the demonstrators says "We do not want to be shown in Moscow," to which the narrator comments: "They do not want this to be seen in Moscow? They do not want the people in Riga, Tallinn, and Vilnius to find out about it? But why? It was just as difficult to find logic here as it is in the other actions of these people."

At this point another extract from an interview with Nikolaja Neilands is shown. Neilands says: "What I will say is that this is one example of how the Baltic card is being played for anti-Soviet purposes, for purposes against our republics. In general it should be said that the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics is totally unconnected with the playing of that card, because that card is played on the principle that the worse Soviet-U.S. relations are, the better it is for these people. That is when they can

use the so-called Baltic question. In the 1970s, when our relations were better, talk about the Baltic question was extremely, extremely rare. If our relations improve and become normalized, then I am sure that the so-called Baltic question will disappear. It is something they are trying to make capital out of."

As the screen again shows demonstrators covering the camera lens with their hands, the film concludes with the narrator saying: "People may ask whether we should have shown this, whether we should have conversed with people who are openly hostile to the entire essence of our lives. But our strength lies in the truth. We want to know the truth about those people who disagree with us. Only then will many of the misunderstandings disappear. The path of the October Revolution that Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia are marching on together with the other Soviet republics was determined by history. It opened up boundless opportunities for national and social development. For that truth a high price was paid."

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CSO: 1800/672

'ALLEGED RUSSIFICATION' OF LATVIANS DENIED BY TASS

LD132216 Moscow TASS in English 1928 CMT 13 Jun 87

[Text] Riga, 13 Jun (TASS)--By TASS correspondent Victor Silins:

The statistics issued by the Statistical Board of Soviet Latvia is evidence that Latvia, in common with the neighbour Baltic republics of Lithuania and Estonia, has achieved the highest living standards in the USSR.

Hence it is not accidental that the so-called Day of Freedom of the Baltic Republics announced in the United States has been evaluated by the inhabitants of the republic as a fresh attempt at whipping up an anti-Soviet hysteria, as a deliberate distortion of the facts.

Yet the real facts are indicative of a rapid development of Latvia's economy, which has grown 55 times over since 1940 due to the assistance of all the Soviet fraternal republics. This has been achieved notwithstanding the total lack of her own raw material resources. Latvia gets from the rest of this country 90 percent of fuel and metal she needs, while electricity consumption is two and a half times as large as her own generating capacity.

Forty-seven percent of the products consumed in the republic come here from the neighbour regions of the USSR, while Latvia takes out only 45 percent of the articles manufactured by her industry, whose key branches are electronics, radio engineering, the chemical industry and other advanced industries. Their level can be judged by the fact that Latvian products are exported to more than 100 countries. The achievements of the National Academy of Sciences, including anti-cancer preparations, have won worldwide acclaim.

Evaluating the state of national culture, the Western Sovietologists are clearly forgetting the achievements in that field. It was late last century that Rudolf Blaumanis, a classical Latvian writer, pointed out: "Are we the Letts going to have a prominent writer, or a poet whose images will go across the narrow confines of the homeland?" but today the works by Latvian writers have been published in 27 languages of the peoples of the USSR and in more than 20 foreign countries.

The hackneyed propaganda cliches circulated in the West about the alleged russification of the Letts hold no water. Almost three-fourths of the republic's parliament are Letts. The republic has more than 10 institutions of higher learning where instruction is done in the lettish language.

On the other hand, if we take the Soviet Union's national bodies of power, Latvia with a population of not more than three million has as many representatives in the Chamber of Nationalities (one of the two equal chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet) as the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

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CSO: 1812/231

CONSTRUCTION LAGS HINDERING KAZAKH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 4 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word boldface editorial entitled "Let Us Advance Large Scale Construction Projects Energetically." The editorial notes the current emphasis on construction and ongoing efforts, including a new Construction Ministry and other management reorganizations, to step up the pace of building at major construction sites in particular. The editorial, however, castigates republic and local authorities and construction units for the many problems which still remain, including failure to use available funds fully and slowness in returning unused funds to investment pools. The editorial also castigates specific shortfalls in energy, mining and chemicals projects.

Lagging projects discussed include development of Maykobe coal, Ekibastuz State Rayon Electrical Station No 2, sub-Caspian oil, and Qarashyghanag oil concentrates. Delays at them are said to be seriously harming the republic economy and future developments.

KAZAKH COMMENTATOR SAYS CITIES OF FUTURE TO RISE HIGHER

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata LENINSHIL ZHAS in Kazakh on 25 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article by Qynabay Aralbayev, published under the rubric "Evening," entitled "What Will the Future of the City Be?" Aralbayev argues that future cities will have to rise higher and higher to provide space for a rapidly growing population without destroying the agricultural lands needed to feed the world's present and future population. This type of growth will also take place in Alma-Ata, which, in spite of being in an earthquake zone, will see the construction of an increasing number of 4-9 story apartment buildings as the next century approaches. Aralbayev suggests that with present technology such high rise developments will be perfectly safe, even in Alma-Ata.

LIFE IN AN ARID REGION STUDIED IN MANGHYSHLAQ BOTANICAL GARDEN

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 7 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article by M. Qonghanbayeva, candidate in agricultural sciences, director of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences Manghyshlaq Experimental Botanical Garden, entitled "Botanical Garden in an Arid Region." The article looks at 15 years of work by the Manghyshlaq garden to study and protect plant life of the mineral rich Manghyshlaq

peninsula, the contributions of the garden in the area of preventing the increase of desert in Manghyshlaq Oblast (there are now 460,000 hectares of moving sand there which are now encroaching upon agricultural areas), in making regional agriculture efficient and water-conserving and in making urban areas green in a climatically very difficult region. Qonghanbayeva emphasizes in this connection how the work of the garden is useful not only in the oblast but widely in the Soviet Union in areas facing ecological problems similar to those of Manghyshlaq Oblast.

Also an area of botanical garden research is the development of garden crops, particularly about Shevchenko City. There the garden not only carries out research but trains cadres to work in city gardens as well.

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CSO: 1832/423

KIRGHIZ WRITER ON PROBLEMS IN NATIONAL RELATIONS

PM281311 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Kirghiz People's Poet and Hero of Socialist Labor A. Tokorbayev under rubric "Our Moral Values": "Only Friendship Does Good"]

[Text] Frunze--My native Kirghizstan in the recent past was a backward region whose population led a seminomadic way of life. Today we export our industrial output to dozens of countries of the world. At the beginning of the century we had practically no written language--now Kirghiz writers' books are published throughout the whole country and far beyond its borders. One cannot fail to be proud of these achievements. However, there are also processes which are arousing anxiety.

This also applies to the nationalities question. Much has been done to resolve it. But the party warns that the improvement of national relations, like every living cause, constantly brings forward new problems. No good comes of hushing them up and embellishing reality.

It is bitter and painful for me, a man who has lived a long, very hard, but all the same happy life, to realize that in the 70th year of Soviet power there are people who have swallowed the poisonous bait of nationalism. I refer to last year's events in Alma-Ata.

At the beginning of the year a meeting of our republic's party aktiv was held to discuss questions of working people's patriotic and international education. Many speeches voiced Communists' serious anxiety about the neglect of this most important sector of ideological work. And though there were no hooligan actions provoked by demagogues and degenerates in our republic, certain nationalist phenomena took place. What about the "activity" of Attokurov, professor in the Kirghiz University History Faculty, for example, who sowed strife between the peoples of our multinational country in his lectures? And although this "educator" has been expelled from the party and debarred from teaching work, I fear that the seeds of hostility he has sown still remain in several immature minds.

Why have we again run up against a phenomenon which seemed to have been overcome back in the first years of the establishment of Soviet power?

Marxism teaches that the idea of national exclusiveness and isolation from other peoples is dredged up by people, groups, and classes [sosloviya] who are threatened with losing undeserved benefits and unearned privileges.

I well remember the years of the formation of Soviet power in Kirghizia. Our people welcomed with enthusiasm the new system of justice and equality. Huge changes occurred in the backward region. Before October there were just a few dozen small schools in Kirghizia. Yet within only one decade from 1925 to 1934, the young republic built 400 schools, and education appropriations had increased 50 times over.

This was achieved with the aid of the whole country, and above all of the fraternal Russian people. How can one not be grateful for the disinterested help and tremendous support which enabled my people to cover centuries of ground in a matter of a few years?! But it was precisely during those years that we Communists ran up against nationalism. We embarked on the revolution when less than 1 percent of the population was literate. They were the children of beys, manaps, volost rulers and their stooges. It did not please many of these "scholars" at all that the Soviet authorities were giving the light of knowledge to the broad masses of the poor. And even if they worked in Soviet and party organs, they could not forget their lost privileges. The double-dealers distorted the party's decisions, went too far, and took things to absurd lengths. Hating socialism, they did their utmost to retard the revolutionary processes, kindled nationalism, and revived and strengthened tribal links.

Decades have passed since then and a new intelligentsia has sprung up. But throwbacks to the past make themselves felt from time to time. Why? It is well known that in a healthy body bacteria behave quietly. But the organism only has to weaken a little for a seat of infection to flare up.

For many years the experience of our republic was presented as a "school of internationalism," as a region where all the problems of inter-nation relations had been fully solved. This was said in books and newspapers and movies were made on the subject. Yes, harmonious multinational collectives do indeed exist in our republic in both industry and agriculture. Literature and the movies have strengthened and have emerged into the all-union arena...

But in recent years some people began to exploit this sacred cause for essentially mercenary ends. Certain leaders, while paying lip-service to internationalism and equality, in fact cultivated home-town favoritism and protectionism; cadres were promoted not for their professional qualities, but on grounds of kinship and personal devotion. And it must be said bluntly that T. Usubaliyev, former first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, was the main organizer of this double-dealing and surrounded himself with relatives, toadies, and creeps. Using internationalism as a shield, he brazenly violated Leninist norms for party life and the moral principles of our society.

Here are just a few illustrations. In our republic, as in Kazakhstan, a patently unsatisfactory situation developed in VUZ's. Nationality, kinship, and origin became the deciding factors in entrance examinations and in selection for postgraduate studies. In some faculties of the agricultural institute, for example, the number of young men and women belonging to the indigenous nationality reached 80-85 percent. And 100 percent in economic specialities at the university. The children of leading personnel received special advantages. Bribery and protectionism flourished in this environment.

At one time, when the question of creating a people's intelligentsia was urgent in the country, certain privileges for young people belonging to indigenous nationalities were justified. Now educational standards in most regions are similar, so it is unjust and unreasonable to grant anyone advantages in university entrance. In conversation with me students themselves quite frankly said that this practice breeds national egoism, conceit and medieval prejudices among some young people.

I would go further. Such "concern" for national cadres produces lamentable results. Each year brings more and more complaints about the quality of specialists' training at the agricultural institute and university. Surely this is the fruit of this competition, if such it can be called?

There have long been neither beys or manaps. Even their grandchildren disowned their ancestry. But some people retained the beys' ways. Dilating on social justice, they themselves constantly violated it. They built opulent cottages and residences, handed apartments, jobs, and titles out to their fellow-countrymen and relatives. Karypkulov, former secretary of the Central Committee, for example, within a short time defended his doctoral thesis, became a corresponding member of the academy, and made his wife a professor. And there were no grounds for such a swift scientific rise.

These are the careerists who obtained undeserved benefits from their posts and became agitated when a fresh wind began to blow. They saw the changes as a real threat to their free and easy yet--from society's point of view--stagnant life.

To a certain extent we ourselves helped this magnificent bouquet to flourish. While fanfares were thundering out for the victories of internationalism, it was simply regarded as indecent to mention certain manifestations of hostility among nations and some people's privileges at others' expense.

There is currently much debate about the language problem. Yet to a considerable extent we also created it ourselves. In the sixties teaching of the Kirghiz language in Russian schools stopped for some reason. Even textbooks and dictionaries disappeared. And we did this ourselves. Nobody forced us. I think that knowledge of even the rudiments of the Kirghiz language raises the cultural level and broadens the social circle of young men and women living in the republic.

On the other hand, the opinion is expressed that the Kirghiz language is allegedly being suppressed. I think that some of our respected writers are wrong to have pressed in speeches and articles for an expansion of the network of kindergartens providing education exclusively in the Kirghiz language. There are already enough such kindergartens in the republic.

The situation is the same with regard to national schools. People who speak of a shortage of them simply do not know the statistics. In the republic, out of 1,635 schools, nearly 1,000 conduct teaching in the Kirghiz language. Another 259 are mixed, with parallel teaching [in Kirghiz and Russian]. During the population census nearly one-third of Kirghiz described Russian as their second native language.

As a litterateur I declare with complete certainty that the main way to develop any national language, including Kirghiz, lies not in its artificial isolation but in the dialectical process of mutual influence and mutual enrichment. Let us ask ourselves honestly: Will the children who will be unable to go to the best educational establishments in the country owing to their poor knowledge of the Russian language thank the champions of "national purity"? Whom does this benefit? Indeed, only last year 300 Kirghiz young men had to give up their dream of becoming officers for this reason.

Thus the language question does indeed exist. Only in another dimension. There must be no obstacles to the spread of both the Kirghiz and Russian languages. Their parallel study is the best means of strengthening internationalism. After all, knowledge of a language also teaches respect for the people.

Questions of international education must be resolved urgently. And as in any major task, openness is essential here. If we bury our heads in the sand and pretend that everything is fine in our republic, some people may repeat their attempt to drive a wedge between nations in order to grab a bigger slice for themselves in the muddy waters of nationalism. Indecision and silence only delay recovery. We have no reason to fear openness. The principle of nationwide justice remains the basis of our nationalities policy. It was for the sake of this that the October revolution was accomplished 70 years ago.

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